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# A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BANGWAKETSE\*

By I. SCHAPERA

## I. THE BEGINNINGS OF TRIBAL HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

The BaNgwaketse, according to widespread and undisputed tradition, are an offshoot of the BaKwena now living in the BaKwena Reserve of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The ruling communities of both tribes have the same totem, viz. the crocodile (*kwena*), their Chiefs claim descent from the same ancestors, and the BaNgwaketse acknowledge the BaKwena as their seniors in tribal rank.

There are, however, several conflicting stories about the time and circumstances of the split between the two tribes. It is often said to have taken place when the BaKwena were ruled by Kwena, the elder brother of Ngwato and Ngwaketse (the titular founders of the Ngwato and Ngwaketse tribes respectively). Some state that Ngwaketse and his followers broke away first,

\* This is the fourth of a series of articles summarizing the histories of the principal tribes of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Those already dealt with are the BaTswana (by G. E. Nettelton, in *Bantu Studies*, vol. viii, 1934, pp. 343-60), BagaMaletse (by V. F. Ellenberger, in *Trans. roy. Soc. S. Afr.*, vol. xxv, 1937, pp. 1-72), and BaTlôkwa (by V. F. Ellenberger, in *Bantu Studies*, vol. xiii, 1939, pp. 165-98). Shorter versions have also been published in the vernacular by A. J. Wookey, *Dico tsa Secwana* (Third ed., Tigerkloof, 1929) and I. Schapera (ed.), *Ditirafalô tsa Merafe ya BaTswana* (Lovedale, 1940).

The present article is based mainly upon information obtained during field trips made to the BaNgwaketse in 1938 and 1941. Wherever possible, I have referred to earlier authorities, who are mentioned in the footnotes. In the absence of specific citation, the source of my statements is tribal tradition, as related to me by members of the Chief's *kgotla* at Kanye. The first draft was read by Chief Bathoeng II, to whom I am greatly indebted for several amendments and for help in many other ways. My fieldwork was financed by the B.P. Administration, on whose behalf this article is being published.

<sup>1</sup> Principal Sources: I Schapera, *Ditirafalô tsa Merafe ya BaTswana*, chap. V. "BaNgwaketse", pp. 121-33 (information obtained in the Chief's *kgotla* at Kanye, 1938); G. B. Moseley, "History of the BaNgwaketse as supplied by Tiro Motlhabane", MS 1926 (Mafeking Registry, J.67); A. J. Wookey, *Dico tsa Secwana*, pp. 66-68 (information obtained from Chief Bathoeng I).

leaving Ngwato behind with Kwena.<sup>2</sup> Present-day historians among the Ngwaketse maintain, on the other hand, that the BaNgwato were the first to leave—ostensibly on a hunting expedition, but actually in order to make themselves an independent tribe. Ngwaketse then sought permission to go hunting too. Kwena refused, because of the way in which he had been deserted by the BaNgwato. Ngwaketse nevertheless departed with his followers, and he also did not return.<sup>3</sup> This would be about the middle of the seventeenth century, which is the latest date, according to the genealogies of the Chiefs, that can be assigned to Kwena and his brothers.

Tribal traditions go on to say that Ngwaketse and his people, after parting from the BaKwena, settled at Magagarapa (a hill to the south of Mochudi). Thence they went to Kgale (the site of the present Roman Catholic Mission near Gaberones). Here, during the rule of Ngwaketse's son Seêpapitsô, they were attacked by the BaKwena, who wished to bring them back to their former allegiance. The BaNgwaketse beat off the attack, and then moved still farther south to Ntsotswane (a hill to the east of the present village of Manyana). Seêpapitsô died there, and was succeeded by his son Leêma, in whose reign the tribe moved to Potsane (east of Lekgôlbôtlô). Leêma had two sons, Khuto and Khutwane. Khuto was a weakling and, after Leêma's death, allowed Khutwane to manage the affairs of the tribe on his behalf. The upshot was that Khutwane ultimately usurped the Chieftainship. He took the tribe to Sengôma (a small hill south of the present village of Ramoutsa). After his death, there was a dispute for the Chieftainship between his son Makaba and Khuto's son Modutlwa. Makaba fled with his followers to Seôkê (Woodlands Farm, Lobatsi), where he died and was succeeded by his son Mongala. The Chief-

<sup>2</sup> Moseley, *op. cit.*; Wookey, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 121.



tainship has since then been hereditary in his line. Khuto's descendants still form part of the tribe (they constitute the 'present Modutlwa, Taukobong, Pudumo, and Ruele wards), but it is not known how or when they rejoined it after Makaba's flight.<sup>4</sup>

Other accounts disagree with the version given above, by placing the separation of the BaNgwaketse from the BaKwena at a much later date. The BaKwena themselves state that it was in the reign of their Chief Motshodi (c. 1740-65), and while they were living at Phutadikobo (Mochudi), that the BaNgwaketse broke away from them, under a leader variously said to have been Khuto, Mongala, or Mongala's son Moleta.<sup>5</sup> The BaNgwaketse also agree that at the time of their secession the BaKwena were living at Phutadikobo.<sup>6</sup> This confirms the story that Motshodi was then Chief of the BaKwena, for it was after him that Phutadikobo became known as Mochudi (Motshodi).

In the light of all this, the facts seem to be that under Ngwaketse and his immediate successors the BaNgwaketse were merely a section or ward of the Kwena tribe, although they lived in a separate village that may have changed its site from time to time. Then, during the reign of Motshodi, they broke away finally to become an independent tribe. The cause of their secession is uncertain, unless we accept the story of an internal dispute about the leadership of their section. It is also not clear who led them away from the BaKwena, but, since he must have been contemporary with Motshodi, it was probably either Makaba I or Mongala. The first Chief, at any rate, with whose reign the traditions become

more uniform and abundant was Mongala, and for all practical purposes we may regard him as the real founder of the tribe.

Mongala ruled over the BaNgwaketse whilst they were living at Seôkê. In the same district they had found another tribe, the BaKgwalheng, who became their subjects. Mongala was the sister's son (*setlogolo*) of Tau, head of the BaKgwalheng. At first the two peoples lived together amicably. A dispute then arose owing to some injury inflicted upon Tau's son Seeisô by Mongala's son Moleta. The BaKgwalheng, failing to receive satisfaction, decided to leave the BaNgwaketse. It is said that they all stole away from their village one night, leaving behind some cattle and goats in their kraals to allay suspicion for the time being. They trekked through the Phata-ya-Barwa pass (where the main road from Kanye enters Lobatsi), and after crossing the Moselebe River went on towards Segeng. The BaNgwaketse, hearing the animals in the kraals, at first did not realize that the BaKgwalheng had deserted them; but the ruse was soon discovered, and Mongala set out with a small commando to bring them back. He found them settled at Kgalong-loo-Tau, near Segeng. He attacked them, but was defeated, and he himself was captured and speared to death. The spot where this happened has ever since been known as Ga-Tlhaba (from *go tlhaba*, to stab).

Mongala's son Moleta then became Chief of the BaNgwaketse (c. 1770?). His first act was to avenge his father's death. He attacked the BaKgwalheng at Kgalong-loo-Tau, and defeated them so decisively that their tribe was destroyed. Some fled south to the BaRolong. Others fled to Ngologa, in the Kalahari Desert, and became the people now known as BaKgalagadi-baNgologa. Seeisô, Tau's son and successor, was captured with many of his followers, and taken back to Seôkê. Most of the captives were incorporated into different Ngwaketse wards, but Seeisô himself was left with a few people to form a ward of his own, which still exists in the tribe under the headmanship of his descendant Gaofiwe.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Schapera, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-22; Moseley, *op. cit.*; Wookey, *op. cit.*, p. 66; evidence of various BaNgwaketse and BaHurutshe at Enquiry held by Mr. W. H. Surmon into boundary dispute at Tirwane between the BaNgwaketse and Gopane's BaHurutshe, April 1891 (enclosure in despatch No. 213 G, of 25. 6. 1891 from the Administrator, British Bechuanaland, to the High Commissioner).

<sup>5</sup> Wookey, *op. cit.*, p. 45 (information from Chief Sechele I); Gabashane, in *Mahoko a Becwana*, vol. vii (1890), p. 61 (information from Mmopi); Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 36, and unpublished notes (information obtained at Molepolole in 1938).

<sup>6</sup> Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 121; Moseley, *op. cit.*; Wookey, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Schapera, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-25.



Some time after this, the BaNgwaketse became involved in a war with the BaTlhaping, Korana, and other southern tribes. Moleta was advised to build protective walls in order to resist the attacks of his enemies. He therefore moved from Sečkê to Pitsa (a hill overlooking Lobatsi), and surrounded his new village with stone walls. A battle took place in the pass henceforth named Phata-ya-Barwa (after these southern tribes), and the invaders were defeated and driven off.<sup>8</sup>

Moleta also fought against the BaHurutshe, who were his neighbours to the east. Their Chief at the time was Boikanyo. He had been acting as regent for his half-brother Tirwê, but subsequently refused to hand over the Chieftainship. Tirwê appealed to the BaNgwaketse, who helped him to defeat and kill Boikanyo at Pôwê (the small hill in front of the Mission Station at Dinokana).<sup>9</sup>

From Pitsa Moleta moved to Makolontwane (north-east of Moshaneng, in the present BaNgwaketse Reserve). Here he was constantly troubled by the BaKwena under Motswasle I, who had their cattleposts at Gookodisa, and ultimately they drove him away.<sup>10</sup> He took the tribe to Mhakane, near Mabule, on the Molôpô River. While they were there, his son Makaba went on a raiding expedition against the BaKgala-gadi-baNgolaga at Lehututu, and brought back many cattle, with very long horns, whose progeny are still known as *dingolaga*.<sup>11</sup> The BaNgwaketse afterwards returned to the north and settled at Setlhabatsane (west of Moshaneng), where Moleta died (c. 1790). The missionary traveller John Campbell was told in 1820, by a MoRolong who had lived for some time among the BaNgwaketse, that Moleta was poisoned by Makaba, who loved one of his father's wives and wanted her for himself. The BaNgwaketse themselves say that he died of old age. The story is that he was in the

*kgotla*, and got up to go into the adjoining cattle-kraal, but his strength gave way, and he fell down dead facing the gate of the kraal.<sup>12</sup>

Moleta was succeeded by his son Makaba II, who seems to have been between thirty and forty years old at the time. Makaba was a warrior Chief under whom the BaNgwaketse became the strongest and most feared tribe in all Bechuanaland. At one time or another he fought against almost all the tribes surrounding him, and although he met with several reverses he was more often victorious. His reign coincided with the arrival of the first European travellers and missionaries in Southern Bechuanaland. Their contemporary accounts of the BaNgwaketse, although usually based solely on hearsay, provide a very useful supplement to local traditions, and enable us to speak with more accuracy and authority about the course of tribal history from now on. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to determine from them the true chronological sequence of the many campaigns and raids in which Makaba is said to have engaged. All that we can do, therefore, is to arrange in what seems to be the most satisfactory order the more outstanding events of his reign.

Soon after his accession, Makaba began fighting against the BaKwena, with whom he was on hostile terms ever after. He is said to have tricked them, by professions of friendship, into mixing their cattleposts with his; he then fell upon them suddenly, defeated them, and looted many of their cattle. Campbell (in 1820) was informed that on this occasion Makaba captured the Kwena Chief Seitlhamo, whom however he soon afterwards liberated. Later he again attacked the BaKwena, and this time he killed Seitlhamo. This "so enraged the Boquains," continues Campbell, "that they rallied and made a furious attack upon Makkabba, killed many of his people, and captured a great number of their cattle."<sup>13</sup> The attack referred to here was probably the one led by Seitlhamo's son Maleke, who, according to Kwena accounts, burned Makaba's

<sup>8</sup> Moseley, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> *History of the Native Tribes of the Transvaal* (Transvaal Bluebook, Pretoria, 1905), p. 12; J. Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa... Second Journey* (London, 1820), vol. i, p. 314; Evidence, Tirwane boundary dispute, 1891.

<sup>10</sup> Moseley, *op. cit.*; *Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith, 1834-36* (ed. P. R. Kirby; Cape Town, 1939-40), vol. i, pp. 405, 406.

<sup>11</sup> Moseley, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Campbell, *Second Journey, loc. cit.*; Wookey, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> Campbell, *Second Journey*, vol. i, p. 315.



village at Kanye and killed one of his uncles named Tawana.<sup>14</sup>

Makaba at the time was living at Sebatleng (to the west of Kanye Hill), to which he had moved from Setlhabatsane. Following upon his defeat by the BaKwena, he settled at the top of Kanye Hill, which he fortified with stone walls whose remains are still visible. Here he was attacked, about 1798 or 1799, by some BaRolong-booRatlou, Korana, and Griquas, led by a European renegade named Jan Bloem. He beat off the attack so successfully that none of his cattle were looted. Bloem died very shortly afterwards, supposedly of drinking water from a well poisoned by the BaNgwaketse.<sup>15</sup>

On another occasion, Makaba was challenged by the BaKgatla-bagaMmanaana of Mabotsa (Maanwane), who resented a visitor's taunt that they were not as brave as the BaNgwaketse. He fought with them on the Ngotwane River, and defeated them so decisively that they were scattered and all their cattle looted. Kontle, their Chief, then came with his followers to Makaba to beg for cattle. They were accepted into the tribe, and built their village first at Mogopyana (east of Kanye) and then at GaMafikana (nearer Kanye), where the section of BaKgatla under headman Ketlogetswe Maletse is living to-day. Kontle afterwards married one of Makaba's daughters, by whom he begot a son named Mosielele.<sup>16</sup>

Somewhat later, about 1808, Makaba was joined by various groups of BaRolong who had been driven from home by civil wars. During the next few years he made successful cattle raids upon the BaTlhaping, BaKwena, BaHurutshe and other tribes, who at last combined to attack him. It is said by the BaNgwaketse that the alliance was promoted by Makaba's uncle Moabi, whom he had driven away because of a personal quarrel about one of Moleta's widows. Moabi returned with a force including BaTlharo, BaTlhaping, BaHurutshe, BaKwena, BagaMaletse,

BaKgatla-bagaKgafêla, and Korana. Makaba had only the BaRolong to help him, but, protected by his stone walls, he succeeded in beating off his enemies in a battle fought at Matlhabanêlô (on the top of Kanye Hill east of the hospital).<sup>17</sup>

Makaba then moved to Pitsaneng (east of Kanye); thence he went to Mokakanana, near Mafeking; and afterwards he returned to Kanye, settling where the Sebako ward (under headman Sebati Dikgageng) is now located. A big olive tree is still standing where he had his *kgotla*. The dates of these various moves cannot be ascertained, but it was probably about 1815 that Makaba returned to Kanye. Soon afterwards most of the BaRolong staying with him went back to their own country, although a few small groups remained behind at Moshaneng as part of the Ngwaketse tribe.

By this time, Makaba was the most powerful Chief in Southern Bechuanaland. The BaTlhaping, who had sent several expeditions against him, usually with disastrous results, feared and hated him. They gave Burchell (1812) and Campbell (1813) many lurid accounts of his alleged treachery and cruelty. They said, for instance, that he had murdered Cowan and Donovan, who went north on an exploring expedition in 1808 and had not been heard of since.<sup>18</sup> It was subsequently discovered that the story was completely untrue: Cowan's party had actually reached the BaNgwaketse, but passed on beyond them, and ultimately died on the Magalapye River, probably of fever. Burchell also describes that while he was amongst the BaTlhaping a party of BaNgwaketse arrived with a present of oxen from Makaba to Mothibi, the local Chief. The cattle were intended to be a sign of peace, but Mothibi decided that they had been "doctored" to bewitch him, and consequently refused to have them anywhere near him.<sup>19</sup>

Some time after Campbell's first visit, Makaba was again at war with the BaTlhaping, probably

<sup>14</sup> Gabashane, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa* (London, 1813) (= *First Journey*), p. 540; W. J. Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa* (London, 1822-24), vol. ii, p. 249.

<sup>16</sup> Moseley, *op. cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Wookey, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Moseley, *op. cit.*; Campbell, *Second Journey*, vol. i, p. 298.

<sup>18</sup> Burchell, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 319, 496, 503f.; Campbell, *First Journey*, pp. 247, 264, 269, 290, 292f.; 321f.

<sup>19</sup> Burchell, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 439, 476.



in 1816 or 1817. One of their commandoes had passed through his territory to attack the BaKwena. They were driven back, and while they were making their way home he ambushed, defeated, and scattered them.<sup>20</sup> He afterwards raided both the BaHurutshe and the BagaMaleté, and looted many of their cattle. Early in 1820, however, he himself lost many cattle to "a nation beyond him," probably the BaKwena. "He had recaptured the cattle," says Campbell, "but he wished now to execute vengeance on them for the aggression." To this end he tried to recruit allies from among the neighbouring tribes, but, meeting with no success, he abandoned the projected raid.<sup>21</sup>

In 1820 Campbell again visited the BaTlhaping. He found them as hostile as ever against Makaba, and when he expressed a desire to visit that Chief they strongly opposed him. He went instead to the BaHurutshe, then living at Kaditshwene, near the modern town of Zeerust. Here he received messages from Makaba inviting him to the BaNgwaketse also, but he refused. "We considered that his object in sending for us, must either have been to obtain beads, or to take us with him on a predatory expedition. Of the first we had none, to the latter we were indisposed."<sup>22</sup> At the time Makaba had staying with him the notorious Dutch renegade Coenraad Buys, but, on learning of Campbell's presence in the vicinity, Buys went farther north to the BaNgwato, among whom he died shortly afterwards.<sup>23</sup> He was not the first European to establish direct contact with the BaNgwaketse, for as early as 1807 or 1808 they had been visited by some Korana Hottentots and a European missionary (Rev. W. Edwards) from Klaarwater, who traded with them for ivory.<sup>24</sup>

While among the BaTlhaping, Campbell heard that "some years ago" there had been a civil

dispute among the BaNgwaketse, which led to the flight of Makaba's son and heir, Tshosa.<sup>25</sup> According to the tribal historians, Tshosa had tried to organize a rebellion against his father, with the object of usurping the Chieftainship. Defeated in his purpose, he fled to the BaRolong at Khunwana, accompanied by his younger brother Segotshane and many other supporters, but leaving behind his two small sons, Gaseitsiwe and Ralekôkô. In April 1822 he went to the BaTlhaping at Kuruman, hoping to enlist their support in an attack upon his father. At Kuruman he found the missionaries Moffat and Hamilton, to whom he gave a very unfavourable account of Makaba. Moffat upbraided him for his words and conduct, and Mothibi, Chief of the BaTlhaping, also refused to help him. Tshosa returned to the BaRolong, and persuaded them to join him. He raided Makaba's cattleposts, taking nearly all the cattle and killing their herdsmen. Makaba sent a commando after him, with instructions that he should not be killed but brought back alive. Tshosa was overtaken at Setlagole. A battle ensued, in which the pursuing BaNgwaketse recovered all their cattle. Tshosa refused to surrender, and as he fled he was pierced and killed by a spear thrown after him. Makaba, who seems to have loved him dearly, was deeply grieved by the news of his death, and is said to have remained secluded in mourning for many days afterwards.<sup>26</sup>

Moffat, impressed by all that he had heard about Makaba, now resolved to visit him. The BaTlhaping and neighbouring tribes were still in constant dread of attack from the old Chief, of whom they could never speak "without stigmatizing him in the most opprobrious epithets . . . He has been represented to us as the worst of men, a robber, and a murderer, possessing almost satanic cunning." Moffat thought it desirable to establish friendly relations with him in order to prevent further hostilities. An invitation from Makaba, who was then living at Tlhorong, near Ranaka, strengthened his resolve, and, despite the protests of the BaTlhaping, he set out in May,

<sup>20</sup> Campbell, *Second Journey*, vol. ii, pp. 173-75; Wootkey, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Campbell, *Second Journey*, vol. i, pp. 177, 312; vol. ii, p. 143.

<sup>22</sup> Campbell, *Second Journey* vol. i, p. 274.

<sup>23</sup> Campbell, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 141-43; *Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith*, vol. i, p. 357.

<sup>24</sup> Burchell, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 537; R. Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa* (London, 1842), p. 216.

<sup>25</sup> Campbell, *Second Journey*, vol. i, p. 310; vol. ii, p. 143.

<sup>26</sup> Moseley *op. cit.*; Schapera, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-31; Moffat, *op. cit.*, pp. 406-409.



1823. On the way, however, he learned that an enormous body of invaders, known as the BaMmantasi, were pushing south towards Kuruman, which they intended to destroy and sack just as they had already destroyed many other villages. Moffat immediately turned back, and got help from the Griquas at Griquatown. A small party, armed with guns and mounted, reinforced the BaTlhapsing, and the BaMmantasi were signally defeated in a battle fought at Dithakong (June, 1823).<sup>27</sup>

It subsequently transpired that the BaMmantasi, on their way south, had attacked Makaba at Tlhorong. At first he had been compelled to abandon his town, but afterwards, rallying his forces, he in turn attacked the invaders, and repulsed them with much slaughter, entrapping hundreds of them by means of ambuscades.<sup>28</sup> It was on their way south after this defeat that Moffat learned of their approach and turned back from his attempt to visit Makaba.

In July 1824, the BaMmantasi having been broken up and scattered, Moffat once more set out to visit Makaba. The BaNgwaketse were then living at Kgwakgwe, a hill close to Kanye, to which they had moved after their victory. Here, early in August, Moffat at last met the dreaded Chief, whom he describes as follows:<sup>29</sup>

"In the early part of the day Makaba was generally employed in cutting out skins to sew together for cloaks, and in the afternoon he was frequently found in a measure intoxicated, from a stronger kind of beer made for his own use. He appeared aged, although his mother was then alive. He was tall, robust, and healthy; had rather the appearance of a Hottentot; his countenance displayed a good deal of cunning; and, from his conversation, one might easily discern that he was well versed in African politics. He dreaded the displeasure of none of the surrounding tribes; but he feared the Maköoas or civilized people. War was almost perpetual between him and the Bakones [i.e. BaKwena], a populous nation to the north-east and east."

<sup>27</sup> Moffat, *op. cit.*, pp. 340 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Moseley, *op. cit.*; Moffat, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>29</sup> Moffat, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400. On the visit as a whole, cf. pp. 396-414.

Moffat stayed with Makaba for a week, and then returned to Kuruman, after promising to send a missionary to live with the BaNgwaketse. Before the promise could be fulfilled Makaba was killed in battle. About the end of 1824, he was suddenly attacked by Sebetwane's horde of marauders, commonly known as the MaKololo. It is said by the BaNgwaketse that the raid was inspired by a man named Mogongwa, who had been punished by Makaba for paying tribute not to him, but to Sebege, his son in the second house. Mogongwa fled to the BaKwena, whom he found paying tribute to Sebetwane. He told Sebetwane that much greater loot could be obtained by attacking the BaNgwaketse. The BaKwena are also said to have sent word warning Makaba of the impending attack, and suggesting that the BaNgwaketse should combine with them to drive off the invaders. Makaba set out from Kgwakgwe with his army. His headmen asked him to stay at home, for he was an old man, but he did not heed them: he was still broken-hearted at the loss of his son Tshosa, and did not care what happened to himself.

The battle was fought at Losabanyana (south-east of Moshaneng). The BaKwena, who had accompanied Sebetwane, treacherously refrained from helping Makaba. His son Sebege, who had been told off with the Malau and Maabakgomo regiments to watch a certain position, likewise took no part in the battle. The result was that the BaNgwaketse were defeated, Makaba himself being among those killed. There is a story that he was slain not by the enemy but by his own people, who gathered round him in the fight and, whether by accident or by design, threw him down and trampled him to death.<sup>30</sup>

## II. THE PERIOD OF CHAOS

Immediately after the death of Makaba, Sebege assumed the Chieftainship of the BaNgwaketse. He was not the true heir, being of the second house; but Segotshane, the surviving son of the first house, was still living with the BaRolong to

<sup>30</sup> Schapera, *op. cit.* p.p. 132-33; Moseley, *op. cit.*; D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa* (London, 1857), pp. 84 f.



whom he had originally accompanied Tshosa when the latter fled from Makaba, and Tshosa's own sons, Gaseitsiwe and Ralekôkô, whom he had left behind with his father, were still very young.

Sebego continued to live at Kgwakgwe after the battle of Losabanyana. Early in August 1826, however, he was driven away from there by another invasion of Sebetwane's people, who at the time were settled in Kwenā territory at Dithubaruba, in the Dithebyane Hills. The BaNgwaketse moved to Selôkôlêla. Here, three weeks later, Sebego was visited by two European travellers, Bain and Biddulph. Bain describes him as follows:<sup>31</sup>

"His appearance was very prepossessing, rather above the common size, with a remarkably easy carriage, and his *tout ensemble* majestic; his features were remarkably European, colour a dark brown, with woolly hair, like the rest of the Kaffir tribes. Round his head—as an antidote against the headache, with which he was troubled—he wore a large snake's skin, the bright colours of which formed a pleasing contrast to that of his face; on his wrists he wore a great number of copper bracelets of beautiful workmanship, and on his legs just below his knees, similar rings, some of which he told us he had made himself; round his ankles were four rows of beads of virgin gold, which he said he had taken from a Mantatee chief whom he had killed in battle."

Sebego at the time had no fewer than sixteen wives, and, despite recent raids, an enormous herd of cattle, "remarkable for the amazing size of their horns, being out of all proportion to the animal that wears them."

Sebego told Bain that the MaKololo had threatened to attack him again, and that to prevent this he had resolved to march against them and to surprise them at night. He persuaded the travellers, much against their will, to accompany him, since their guns were a most valuable asset; and on August 25th (1826) he set out with an army of about 5,000 men. After a three days' march,

spent mainly in hunting, they reached Dithubaruba, which they surrounded during the night, the men being placed in carefully-selected positions. At dawn on the 28th they launched their attack. It was a complete success: the town was burned, many of the MaKololo were killed, and the greater part of their cattle were looted.<sup>32</sup> Sebetwane thereupon withdrew farther north with the survivors, into the country of the BaNgwato, and Sebego moved his own village to Lwale, north-west of Moshupa.

About this time, the BaKgatlā-bagaMmanaana, fearing that they might not be as well treated by Sebego as they had been by Makaba, left him and returned to their old home at Mabotsa (Maanwane). But Mosiclele, the son of Chief Kontle by Makaba's daughter, remained with a few followers among his mother's people.<sup>33</sup>

At the beginning of 1827, Moffat went to stay for a short while among the BaRolong at Tswaing, on the Molôpô River. There he met some BaNgwaketse, who asked him to visit Sebego. He replied that he could not spare the time. A fortnight later Sebego himself, with a party of about two hundred men, unexpectedly came to Tswaing. The BaRolong "were still more surprised when he told them that he had broken an established law of his people, which would not permit the king to leave his own dominions, but that his martial appearance among them was on designs of peace; for his sole object was to induce me to accompany him to his capital."<sup>34</sup> Finding that Moffat could not come, Sebego asked that some other missionary should be sent to him. His request was borne in mind, and when, in 1830, some missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society arrived in Kuruman, it was with the intention of starting work amongst the BaNgwaketse.<sup>35</sup>

This plan, however, was frustrated by an event of great importance in the history of all the

<sup>31</sup> Bain, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-54, 483-89.

<sup>32</sup> A. Mahloane, "History of the BaKgatlā in the BaNgwaketse Reserve", MS. 1925 (Mafeking Registry, J. 67) (Information from Tiro Motlhabane).

<sup>33</sup> Moffat, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

<sup>34</sup> P. Lemue, in *J. Miss. évangél.*, vol. vi (1831), pp. 304 f.; vol. xx (1845), p. 296.

<sup>35</sup> A. G. Bain, "Journal kept on a visit to some of the Interior Tribes of Southern Africa in the year 1826", pp. 346 f. (*African Monthly*, vol. iv, 1908, pp. 222 - 32, 345 - 54, 483 - 89.)



Bechuanaland tribes. In 1825 the MaTebele, under Moselekatse (Mzilikazi), had occupied the Western Transvaal, and begun to destroy or subjugate all the peoples living around them. As time went on, their raiding parties proceeded farther and farther afield. Ngwaketse traditions relate that Sebego was called upon to give some white cattle as tribute to Moselekatse. The sight of the cattle persuaded that Chief that it would be more profitable to raid the BaNgwaketse than merely to levy tribute from them. Early in 1830, therefore, he sent a commando of some four hundred men against them. The BaNgwaketse say that, warned of the commando's approach, Sebego and his people withdrew into the desert without suffering any harm. Contemporary evidence shows, however, that the MaTebele burned his village at Lwale, killed some of his people, and captured a large number of cattle. Thereupon he fled to Lotlhakeng, in the Kalahari Desert, where he established a new village.<sup>36</sup> These events made it impossible for the French missionaries to join him, as had been hoped, and they decided therefore to proceed to the BaHurutshe at Mosiga (near Zeerust).

Early in 1832, Sebego sent to ask the missionaries at Mosiga if the country was at peace, and if they thought that he could return to his old home. He besought them also to try to make peace between him and Moselekatse. Very soon afterwards, however, Moselekatse was unexpectedly attacked by an expedition of Dingane's Zulu from Natal, who inflicted some heavy losses upon him (September 1832). He moved his headquarters to Mosiga, which the missionaries had already abandoned; then, to reassert himself, he sent out fresh expeditions against the neighbouring tribes. One of these went to attack the BaNgwaketse at Lotlhakeng. Warned of their coming, Sebego fled with all his people and cattle into the desert. The MaTebele followed their spoor and, coming up with them after a few days, drove them off and

captured many cattle. Sebego then moved still farther west, and settled at Dutlwe.<sup>37</sup>

The MaTebele were by this time occupying the eastern parts of the Ngwaketse country, where they had many cattleposts and small villages, including a settlement at Lwale. Some time in 1834 still another commando went out from there against the BaNgwaketse. It consisted mainly of inexperienced youths, the seasoned warriors being kept behind to meet possible attacks from the Griqua leader Jan Bloem (the younger), who had already been giving Moselekatse some trouble. The raiders, owing to their ignorance of the desert, suffered greatly from thirst, and when they got to Dutlwe they were too weak to fight. Sebego fell upon them from three sides, and put them to flight after killing many.<sup>38</sup>

Fearing that the MaTebele would now send a proper army against him to avenge this defeat, Sebego once more abandoned his village, and took his people to Monnyêlatsela, near Ghanzi. All this time he had been accompanied by Gaseitsiwe and Ralekôkô, the sons of his late brother Tshosa. But, on leaving Dutlwe, he told their mother that she should rather try to find her way back to her own people (the BaRolong), since the MaTebele were all over the country, and he himself was going still farther into the desert. According to the traditions, he was advised by some of his people to kill the two boys, lest they afterwards claim the Chieftainship from him. Fearing to assassinate them openly, he caused poison to be put into the milksack set aside for their use. Ralekôkô died from the effects, but Gaseitsiwe managed to survive after vomiting out the poisoned milk. Sebego then allowed him and his mother to depart, but sent instructions ahead to the local MaKgalagadi to kill him if they could. Gaseitsiwe came to a Kgalagadi village at Sita. The inhabitants, because of Sebego's orders, held a secret meeting to plan his death. Kgano, the local headman, was married to a Ngwaketse woman named Mma-Sentswêlakae, and when

<sup>36</sup> Moseley, *op. cit.*; Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Lemue, in *J. Miss. évangél.*, vol. vi (1831), *loc. cit.*; *Bloemhof Arbitration Bluebook* (Cape Town, 1871), pp. 186-90 passim (evidence of Mathiba, Kelebonve, and Gaseitsiwe), 315 (Moiwa), 318 ("Cobejaan"), 326 (Mogale); Wookey, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 f.

<sup>37</sup> *Bloemhof Bluebook, loc. cit.*; *J. Miss. évangél.*, vol. vii (1832), p. 380 (Rolland); *ibid.*, vol. viii (1833), pp. 100 (Rolland), 106 (Pellissier), 195 (Lemue).

<sup>38</sup> *Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith*, vol. i, p. 353; *Bloemhof Bluebook, loc. cit.*; Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 134.



she learned of the plot she succeeded in dissuading him from carrying it out. Gaseitsiwe was therefore allowed to depart safely with his mother and her elder sister, who were his only companions. At last they met a MoNgwaketse named Tlagae, who was also a fugitive from the MaTebele. He led them safely through the country, and ultimately brought them to the BaRolong at Mosite. Here they found Segotshane and some of the other BaNgwaketse who had originally fled from the tribe with Tshosa.<sup>39</sup>

These BaNgwaketse had previously been living with the BaRolong at Khunwana. In August 1832, however, the MaTebele had attacked and destroyed the town, killing many of the BaRolong. But the BaNgwaketse had time to escape, since they lived on the outskirts, and fortunately for themselves they fled along the Kuruman road, which the Tebele warriors had been ordered to avoid.<sup>40</sup> They settled at Mosite, where, as we have seen, Gaseitsiwe came to them (in 1834 or 1835). When the other BaNgwaketse who had been scattered by the MaTebele heard that he was with Segotshane, they flocked to Mosite to join him. A little later, when they were already fairly numerous, Segotshane moved his village to Tswaneng (in the south-east of what is now the BaNgwaketse Reserve).<sup>41</sup>

In February 1837 the MaTebele were attacked and defeated by the Boers at Mosiga. In June another Zulu commando likewise harried them. Some of the Zulu swept through those parts of the Ngwaketse country occupied by the MaTebele, and departed after destroying many villages and looting large numbers of cattle. Almost immediately afterwards, the same MaTebele were attacked by a mixed force of Griquas under Jan Bloem, BaHurutshe under Moilwe, and the BaNgwaketse from Tswaneng under Segotshane.<sup>42</sup> They were driven back to the Marico (Madikwe) River, where, in November 1837, their main force was once again attacked and severely defeated by

the Boers. Moselekatse thereupon trekked with his people into north-eastern Bechuanaland, beyond the country of the BaNgwato. Segotshane and his followers returned to Tswaneng, where they lived for the next few years.

Sebego had in the meantime been living at Monnyélatsele, where he had forced the local OvaHerero ("Damaras") to pay tribute to him. After a short while, however, he moved south to Lehututu. There he fought with the local MaKgalagadi, raiding their villages and capturing their stock. Eventually the MaKgalagadi combined with a local tribe of BaRolong, under Molebe, to attack him. A battle took place at Lehututu. Sebego defeated the invaders, who fled; he pursued them, and, attacking them during the night at a place called Karutiwe, dispersed them with great slaughter. He then remained living peacefully at Lehututu.

### III. THE RESTORATION OF TRIBAL UNITY.

In 1838, after the expulsion of the MaTebele from the Western Transvaal, the BaNgwaketse were still divided into several parties. Segotshane and Gaseitsiwe, with their followers, were at Tswaneng, and Sebego with his section of the tribe was at Lehututu. Bome, another of Makaba's sons, had originally accompanied Sebego, but, being thrashed by him for some reason, had fled into the country of the BaNgwato to live with his maternal relatives. While there he heard that Segotshane was at Tswaneng, and went to join him. Diatleng, a descendant of Moleta, had settled at Dutlwe. Hearing that he was there, Sebego sent to ask if his intentions were hostile. Diatleng replied that he was merely looking after the district to prevent the BaKwena from taking it; but, fearing that Sebego might attack him, he sent word to Segotshane, who promised to help him, and at the same time asked him to keep watch over Sebego's movements.<sup>43</sup>

Sebego, hearing that Moselekatse had left the country, became anxious to return to his former home. He seems, however, to have been un-

<sup>39</sup> Schapera, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-36.

<sup>40</sup> Smith's *Diary*, vol. i, pp. 401 f.

<sup>41</sup> Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>42</sup> Bloemhof *Bluebook*, *loc. cit.*; Lemue, in *J. Miss. évangél.*, vol. xv (1840), p. 48.

<sup>43</sup> Schapera, unpublished notes (information from Chief's *kgotla*, Kanye, 1938).

certain of the reception he would meet, and in 1839 sent messages to the various Rolong and other Chiefs of southern Bechuanaland asking for peace.<sup>44</sup> The replies could not have been altogether satisfactory, for we hear of him next early in 1842, when sixteen of his men visited Livingstone, who at the time was passing through the territory of the BaKwena. "His object in sending to Livingstone was to solicit his advice and protection, as he wished to come out (of the desert), in order that his people might grow corn, etc. Sebehwe, like many of the other people of the country, had the notion that if he got a single White man to live with him, he would be quite secure."<sup>45</sup>

Livingstone promised to visit Sebegu at an early date, but apparently advised him not to leave Lehututu just yet.<sup>46</sup> Sebegu nevertheless began moving homewards. Diatleng reported this to Segotshane, who sent Bome to ask Mahura, Chief of the BaTlhaping at Taungs, to help him prevent Sebegu from reoccupying the country. The BaTlhaping, who had both guns and horses, joined forces with Segotshane's BaNgwaketse, many of whom also had guns. They found Sebegu encamped at Malê, near Moshaneng, and attacked him. Some thirty of his men were killed, many of his cattle were looted, and he was compelled to flee. This was towards the middle of 1842. Segotshane returned to Tswaneng, but, since his following was now greatly augmented by deserters from Sebegu, and he had also captured many cattle, the water there proved insufficient for his needs, and he moved his village to Dikhu-khung on the Molôpô River. Here, still in 1842, he was attacked by another group of BaTlhaping, under Gasebonwe, who took away most of his cattle. Thereupon he and his people sought refuge at Taungs with Mahura, who allowed them to build a village at Mokgara (Maijane). Here Gaseitsiwe was afterwards initiated, and then installed as Chief (c. 1846).<sup>47</sup>

Sebegu, after his defeat at Moshaneng, sought refuge with a group of BaKwena who were living at Malakopi (Ditthebyane) under the rule of Bubi. Very soon afterwards, however, they were attacked by Sechele's BaKwena, and in the course of the battle some sixty men were killed on both sides. A little later Sebegu was for the third time in rapid succession attacked and defeated, by a raiding party of MaTebela from the north. Poverty-stricken, and with a following that was by now greatly reduced, he appealed to a hunting party of Griquas, who happened to be in the country, and asked them to help him recover his cattle from the BaKwena. They refused to join him in an attack, but accompanied him to Sechele to ask for the cattle. Sechele, afraid of the guns with which they were armed, surrendered some sixty head of cattle, which were all handed over to Sebegu.<sup>48</sup>

Sebegu then established his village at Tlhasokwane, in what is now the Western Transvaal, not far from Maanwane. Here he was visited in February 1843 by Livingstone. The famous explorer met with a chilly reception, "partly on account of the supposed delinquency of the Christian converts, and partly because (he) had been so long in fulfilling his undertaking to appear." It seems that Sebegu, when he was attacked by Segotshane and Mahura, had with him several Christian Natives from Kuruman, whom he accused of having betrayed him. However, "The restraint soon wore off, and Livingstone was enabled to obtain for his message (as a missionary) the most encouraging hearing it had yet received."<sup>49</sup>

Late in the following year, Sebegu set out on a trip to the south, intending to enlist the support of the Griqua leader Klaas Waterboer at Griquatown, by whose men he had already been once befriended. But before he could reach his destination he died, and was buried at Segonyana, near Kuruman (November 1844). His death was apparently due to the effects of a wound he had received accidentally from one of his subjects

<sup>44</sup> Lemue, in *J. Miss. évangél.*, vol. xv (1840), p. 48.

<sup>45</sup> W. G. Blaikie, *The Personal Life of David Livingstone* (Seventh ed., London, 1894), pp. 40 f.

<sup>46</sup> Blaikie, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>47</sup> Lemue, in *J. Miss. évangél.*, vol. xviii (1843), pp. 283-5; Wookey, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 f.

<sup>48</sup> Lemue, *loc. cit.*

<sup>49</sup> R. J. Campbell, *Livingstone* (London, 1929), p. 87; cf. Blaikie, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 f.



while hunting buffalo, but tradition has it that he was deliberately assassinated. He is said to have been an extremely cruel Chief, who wantonly killed many of his people, and although he is still held in renown as a brave warrior, his memory inspires little affection among the BaNgwaketse to-day.<sup>50</sup>

After the death of Sebegu, his son Senthufe became leader of the BaNgwaketse at Tlhasokwane. He returned with them to the country of their ancestors, and towards the end of 1849 was found at Kgwakgwe by the Rev. J. J. Freeman, of the London Missionary Society, who speaks of him as "a young chieftain, very pleasant, intelligent, and friendly."<sup>51</sup> At the time there was living with him a Native preacher from Kuruman named Sebubi, who for many years afterwards continued alone to teach the Gospels to the BaNgwaketse.<sup>52</sup> Senthufe later moved his village to Kanye, settling where the Lobeko ward is now located.

At the time of Freeman's visit, the BaNgwaketse under Gaseitsiwe and Segotshane were still living amongst the BaTlhaping at Taungs. Soon afterwards, hearing that Senthufe had gone to Kanye, they also returned to their former home, and settled at Diphawana (about ten miles south of Kanye). While there, news reached them that the Boers had driven the BaKwena from Dimawê (August 1852) and had then gone on to attack Senthufe at Kanye. Fearing that he himself would next be attacked, Gaseitsiwe moved from Diphawana to Segeng. A year later, when all fear of an invasion had died away, he came to Kanye and settled at Nyorosi Hill (where the Tsopye ward is now located).<sup>53</sup>

Thus, in 1853, the two sections of BaNgwaketse were at last living side by side in the same locality. Senthufe, however, would not accept Gaseitsiwe's claim to paramountcy over him; and after several minor squabbles he moved with his followers to

Malê. This must have been after June 1854, when Moffat speaks of finding the various sections of BaNgwaketse reunited at Kanye under a grandson of Makaba.<sup>54</sup> Three years later Gaseitsiwe, complaining that Senthufe was stealing his MaKgalagadi and cattle, decided to drive him away, and appealed for help to Montshiwa's BaRolong and to the BaTlharo, promising them Senthufe's cattle as a bait. One of the BaRolong, whose relatives were living with Senthufe, warned him of the impending attack, and, after sending his cattle away into safety, he prepared to fight. Gaseitsiwe attacked his village at dawn (December 1857), and in the resulting melee lost two men, while Senthufe lost ten men and two women. His village was burned; his cattle were followed up and looted, two herdsmen being killed; and many of his followers deserted to Gaseitsiwe.<sup>55</sup>

Senthufe then took refuge with Sechele, Chief of the BaKwena. A few months later Gaseitsiwe asked Sechele to send him back, promising to receive him in friendship. Negotiations went on for about a year. Senthufe then rejoined the tribe (1859), and accepted Gaseitsiwe as his Chief. He settled on Kanye Hill, at the spot where his descendants and their adherents (the Sebegu ward) are still living; and here he died peacefully in 1885, at the time of Sir Charles Warren's visit. With his return the BaNgwaketse once more became a united tribe, and there has since been no other serious split amongst them.

#### IV. THE IMPACT OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

The history of the BaNgwaketse during the years following immediately upon their reunion under Gaseitsiwe's rule seems to have been comparatively uneventful. Local traditions do not mention any outstanding occurrence, and the records of the few Europeans who visited the tribe about this time also contain no reference to incidents of special political importance.

<sup>50</sup> Schapera, unpublished notes; Lemue, *J. Miss. évangél.*, vol. xx (1845), pp. 296 f.; Lauga, *ibid.*, vol. xxi (1846), pp. 100 f.

<sup>51</sup> J. J. Freeman, *A Tour in South Africa* (London, 1851), p. 292.

<sup>52</sup> Sebubi was the founder of the Tlharo ward now living at Ranaka under his grandson Matutu.

<sup>53</sup> Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Moseley, *op. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> J. S. Moffat, *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat* (London, 1885), pp. 298 f.

<sup>55</sup> Moseley, *op. cit.*; *Mokaeri oa Becuana*, vol. i, no. 4 (January 1858), p. 16; Schapera, unpublished notes.

This period, nevertheless, saw the incorporation of various foreign communities into the tribe. In 1852 Montshiwa, Chief of the BaRolong-booRaTshidi, sought refuge amongst the BaNgwaketse from a threatened Boer attack. He settled with most of his people at Moshaneng, where he remained until 1877, when he moved back to his own territory. A few small groups of BaRolong stayed behind, however, and are living with the BaNgwaketse to this day as part of the tribe.<sup>56</sup> In 1866, again, Gaseitsiwe gave shelter to Sekgoma Kgari, Chief of the BaNgwato, who had been driven away by his own people. Sekgoma lived with the BaNgwaketse until the beginning of 1873, when he was called home by his son Kgama to resume the Chieftainship. As happened with the BaRolong, however, some of his followers remained behind, including a group of MaTswapong, and their descendants now belong to the Ngwaketse tribe.<sup>57</sup>

A more important accession consisted of the BaKgatla-bagaMmanaana. Their Chief, Mosielele, had fled with some of his people from Mabotsa about 1850, because he was threatened with arrest by the Boers for looting cattle. They went first to GaMafikana, at Kanye, and afterwards settled at Moshupa. There they heard that the Boers were coming to fetch them; and they fled to Sechele at Dithebyane. They remained with him for several years, but a disagreement then arose which resulted in their return to Moshupa (c. 1863). About 1870, an attempt by Mosielele's son Pilane to take over the Chieftainship led to a split. Mosielele came to Gaseitsiwe at Kanye, where his section of the BaKgatla have been ever since. Pilane went back to the BaKwena and settled at Kgabodukwe, but again fell out with Sechele (c. 1880), and with Gaseitsiwe's permission returned to his former home at Moshupa.<sup>58</sup>

Another large group of refugees from the Boers

were the BaHurutshe under Mangôpê, who left the Transvaal about 1858 and settled at Manyana, near Dimawê. They subsequently broke up into several sections, all of which returned to the Transvaal except the one under Mangôpê's son Kontle, which remained at Manyana, in what is now the BaNgwaketse Reserve.<sup>59</sup>

This early period saw also the introduction of various European influences that gradually came to exert a powerful effect upon the life of the tribe. As long ago as the time of Makaba II traders and hunters had visited the BaNgwaketse, but it was not until after Gaseitsiwe began to rule that the first traders actually settled at Kanye and other villages. Similarly, as we have seen, the London Missionary Society had by 1850 begun the task of evangelising the BaNgwaketse, through a Native preacher named Sebuli. John Mackenzie, who passed through Kanye in June 1860, reports that Sebuli was "constantly exhorting and instructing" the people, and that Gaseitsiwe and one of his wives "had made some progress in learning to read."<sup>60</sup> Gaseitsiwe, like Makaba and Sebege before him, wished to have a European missionary, but it was only in 1871 that the London Missionary Society sent the Rev. J. Good to Kanye as its first White representative.<sup>61</sup>

During this time, too, the BaNgwaketse began to find themselves involved in political dealings with the neighbouring European states of South Africa. The discovery of diamonds along the Vaal River (1867) and of gold in the Tati (1868) had led to a keen dispute about the ownership of land hitherto occupied by independent Native tribes, and in April 1868 the South African Republic issued a Proclamation extending its western borders as far as Lake Ngami in the north and Kuruman in the south. The Proclamation was never put into effect, but very soon afterwards several Boers, aided by the BaHurutshe who were their subjects, placed beacons along a line in the eastern portions of Gaseitsiwe's

<sup>56</sup> Z. K. Matthews, "BaRolong", in *Ditirafalô tsa Merafe ya BaTswana* (ed. I. Schapera), pp. 19 ff.; Schapera, unpublished notes (Kanye, 1938).

<sup>57</sup> Schapera, information obtained at Kanye (1938, 1941).

<sup>58</sup> Mahloane, "History of the BaKgatla in the BaNgwaketse Reserve", MS. 1925 (information from Tiro Motlhabane); Gobuamang Enquiry, Kanye, November 1932 (evidence of Gobuamang and Ratsie).

<sup>59</sup> *History of the Native Tribes of the Transvaal* (1905), p. 12; Schapera, information obtained at Kanye, 1938.

<sup>60</sup> J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River* (Edinburgh, 1871), p. 102.

<sup>61</sup> R. Lovett, *History of the London Missionary Society* (London, 1899), vol. i, p. 647.



territory that cut off a large piece of his country. He immediately had the beacons thrown down, and with the object of protesting against the unwarranted encroachment attended a meeting held in November 1870 at Dishwaing, on the Molôpô River, between the southern Tswana Chiefs and representatives of the Transvaal Government. An attempt made there by the Government to extend its sovereignty over the Chiefs and impose taxation upon them met with unanimous objection, nor could a satisfactory boundary between the Transvaal and Bechuanaland be agreed upon. An Arbitration Commission was therefore appointed, which sat at Bloemhof in April 1871. As the outcome of its proceedings, the Keate Award of October 1871 was made, which decided *inter alia* that the eastern boundary of the BaNgwaketse should be conterminous with the present boundary of the Transvaal from Ramatlhabama to the junction of the Taung and Ngotwane Rivers.<sup>62</sup>

Gaseitsiwe's next contact with European officials came in September 1876, when he was visited by Mr. A. Bailie, who had been sent by the Griqualand West Administration to recruit labour for the diamond mines from the Chiefs north of Kimberley. Gaseitsiwe, once he understood Bailie's mission, readily agreed to encourage his people to seek work at the mines. He later repeated his promise in a letter to the Administrator of Griqualand West, whom he also assured of his "continued friendship" with the British Government. Unlike Kgama and Sechele, however, he did not ask for his people to be taken over as British subjects. Bailie thought he could be persuaded to accept a British Resident, but nothing came of this particular suggestion.<sup>63</sup>

Meanwhile, shortly before the meeting of the Bloemhof Arbitration Commission in 1871, Gaseitsiwe and Sechele, in order to prevent any subsequent dispute in case diamonds were found in the country of either, had come to an agree-

ment about the boundary between their respective tribes. The agreement provided, *inter alia*, that the land occupied by the BaHurutshe at Manyana and by the BaKgatlâ at Moshupa should fall within the territory of the BaNgwaketse.<sup>64</sup> But it does not seem to have worked satisfactorily. In 1880, therefore, when Mr. T. Melville was sent by the short-lived British Administration of the Transvaal (1877-81) to define the boundary between the Transvaal and the BaKwena, Sechele requested him to deal also with the question of the boundary between the BaKwena and the BaNgwaketse. Melville met representatives of both tribes, and got them to agree upon a boundary, which they promptly beacons off.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, the boundary question continued in later years to be a source of friction between the two tribes.

Shortly afterwards, the BaNgwaketse went to war against the BagaMalete, who, after living for some time among the BaKwena, had settled in 1875 at Ramoutsa. Gaseitsiwe said that they were occupying his territory, and claimed tribute from them. The BagaMalete replied that they were in country inhabited long ago by their ancestors and never held by the BaNgwaketse; they consequently refused to acknowledge him as their paramount Chief, or to pay him tribute. Gaseitsiwe's son, Bathoeng, thereupon led the Maisantwa and Matlotlagang regiments in an attack upon Ramoutsa, hoping to expel the BagaMalete by force (November 10, 1881). The rest of the BaNgwaketse remained behind, since Gaseitsiwe did not approve of the expedition, and Bathoeng was driven back with great loss, more than one hundred of his men being killed.<sup>66</sup>

Further hostilities were prevented by the intervention of the Boers, who had recently resumed the government of the Transvaal. The country occupied by the BagaMalete extended into the

<sup>64</sup> *Bloemhof Bluebook*, p. 190 (evidence of Gaseitsiwe).

<sup>65</sup> Melville's report does not seem to have been published. There is a typed copy, which I have used, in the B.P. Government Offices at Mafeking (File J.6/40).

<sup>66</sup> V. F. Ellenberger, "History of the BagaMalete", *Trans. roy. Soc. S. Afr.*, vol. xxv (1937), pp. 46-8; E. Lloyd, *Three Great African Chiefs* (London, 1895), pp. 157 f.; Schapera, information obtained in Kanye, 1938, 1941.

<sup>62</sup> J. A. I. Agar-Hamilton, *The Road to the North* (London, 1937), pp. 72 f.; *Bloemhof Bluebook*, pp. 186-90 (evidence of Gaseitsiwe, Mathiba, and Kelebonye); Tirwane boundary dispute, 1891 (report of Mr. W. H. Surmon, and evidence of many BaNgwaketse).

<sup>63</sup> *Bluebook C. 2220* (1879), pp. 49, 62, 75.

Transvaal, and during the attack on Ramoutsa some of the BaNgwaketse had crossed over the border and raided the BagaMalete there, killing a few men, burning huts, and looting cattle. For this offence the Transvaal Government threatened Gaseitsiwe with a punitive expedition, unless he surrendered the raiders, restored the cattle looted, and paid a fine of 4,000 head of cattle or £16,000. After some negotiations, in which the British Resident with the Transvaal assisted, Gaseitsiwe agreed to pay 1,000 head of cattle and to attend an inquiry at Pretoria into the amount of damage done by his people. But he brought only 400 head of cattle when he came to Pretoria. The Government refused to accept them, and now insisted that he should sign a declaration in which, *inter alia*, he recognized the BagaMalete as an independent tribe, and agreed to a delimitation of boundary with them. He objected strongly to this particular provision, and with the help of the British Resident secured its withdrawal. He signed an agreement, however, in which he undertook not to attack the BagaMalete again, but to submit any future dispute to the mediation of the Transvaal Government. He also undertook to make good the damage done by his people, and to pay the Government 529 head of cattle in compensation for the expenses it had incurred in the matter.<sup>67</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Gaseitsiwe again came into conflict with the Boers. Encroachments by European filibusters upon the territories of the BaTlhaping and BaRolong farther south had led to the establishment of the republics of Stellaland and Goshen in 1882. The British ultimately intervened, and in May 1884 proclaimed a Protectorate over Bechuanaland south of the Molôpô. The Boers at Rooigrond (Goshen) nevertheless continued their raids upon the BaRolong. Gaseitsiwe had allowed Montshiwa's BaRolong to graze their cattle in his country, and had also sent men to help them against the attacks of the Boers. The latter therefore regarded him also as their enemy, and in July 1884 a strong force of raiders from Rooigrond entered his

territory, and carried off some 3,000 head of cattle, apart from killing several of the men trying to resist them. The looted cattle were driven past Mafeking as a bait to the BaRolong, who, as anticipated, tried to recover them. In the fight that followed, the BaRolong were completely defeated. Two Englishmen helping them were also killed, one of whom, Mr. C. Bethell, was a Government official. His death led directly to the famous Warren expedition, and to the subsequent extension of the Protectorate to Bechuanaland north of the Molôpô as far as 22° S. latitude.<sup>68</sup> By this act (March 1885) the BaNgwaketse also came under the protection of the Imperial Government.

## V. THE EARLY DAYS OF THE BRITISH PROTECTORATE

Within a day or two after the northward extension of the Protectorate had been proclaimed, Gaseitsiwe and his son Bathoeng arrived in Mafeking to see Warren. Gaseitsiwe followed up his visit by a letter in which he detailed the losses he had suffered during the Boer raid into his country in July 1884. These amounted to 1,083 head of cattle and some 320 sheep and goats, as well as three men killed and one wounded. Warren wrote to the High Commissioner that "very grave importance" should be attached to making good these losses, "as without it Ghasitsiwe cannot believe that Her Majesty's Protection is anything but a name." The High Commissioner, although observing that the BaNgwaketse were not yet under British protection at the time when the raid took place, nevertheless suggested to the Secretary of State that Gaseitsiwe's losses might be included within the scope of a proposed inquiry into the cases of stock stolen from the BaRolong since the establishment of a Protectorate over them in 1884.<sup>69</sup> The published records, however, contain no further reference to the matter, nor does local tradition indicate whether Gaseitsiwe ever did receive compensation.

<sup>68</sup> The relevant records are summarized and discussed by Agar-Hamilton, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 13-18 (Cf. index, s.v. "Xaseitsiwe", i.e. Gaseitsiwe).

<sup>69</sup> *Bluebooks C.4432* (1885), p. 110; *C.4588* (1885), pp. 11 f., 23.

<sup>67</sup> The relevant official records are summarized by Agar-Hamilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 f.



In the meantime Warren had sent Lieut. A. Stokes to inspect the territory of the BaNgwaketse and to indicate what revenue might be derived from them by taxation. Stokes produced a useful report (dated March 26, 1885) on the general economic condition of the people, whom he describes as fairly rich in cattle and corn, and possessing many wagons. There were three trading-stores in Kanye at the time, and also a Church.

"The Chief Gaseitsiwe," he added,<sup>70</sup> "appears to be a very weak old man, both in body and will; his people seem but little to acknowledge his authority, or at any rate to conform to it. . . . Bathuen, the Chief's son, seems shrewd enough, but like his father has not much power. He is much opposed to his father giving up the country as he fears it means that the country will no longer remain under the Chief, out of whose hands the rule of the country will be taken."

Stokes noted also that the two minor Chiefs, Pilane (of the BaKgatla) and Mokgosi (of the BagaMalete), who had been allowed to settle in the Ngwaketse country, were "looked upon more or less as intruders." A third petty Chief, Kgari Matšheng, had recently settled at Ngomare (1882). He was the son of Matšheng, at one time Chief of the BaNgwato, and in 1898 he moved north to the Tati District, but he left behind some of his people, who are still in the tribe to-day.

Shortly after Stokes had returned, Warren himself set out to visit the Chiefs north of the Molôpô, in order "to judge of the administration required and revenue obtainable" in the new Protectorate. He interviewed Gaseitsiwe at Kanye on April 24, 1885. The main topic of conversation was the widespread use of liquor among the BaNgwaketse. Stokes had reported that "an enormous amount" of liquor was being sold to the people by the traders. Gaseitsiwe and Bathoeng both stated that they had several times tried to suppress the traffic, but had not succeeded, owing mainly to the vested interests of the traders. Warren thereupon undertook that, if the Chief would prohibit the people from buying liquor, he himself would immediately

instruct the traders to cease selling it. At the end of May, on his return from the Chiefs farther north, Warren again saw Gaseitsiwe. He secured from the Chief an offer of land, on the eastern and western borders of his country, for occupation by English settlers, as a return for British protection against the encroachment of the Boers. Gaseitsiwe accepted the Queen's protection, but said that he wished to continue ruling his people "as at present." He hoped, finally, that the recent law against strong drink would remain in force.<sup>71</sup>

The drink question continued to trouble the BaNgwaketse for some time to come. Lieut. A. J. Bethell, who visited Kanye at the end of December 1885, found that liquor was again being sold extensively. Gaseitsiwe repeated that he did not wish it to be imported into his territory at all, and the traders themselves wanted to know if licences would be granted to regulate the supply.<sup>72</sup> In August 1888 Sir S. Shippard referred to Bathoeng's "praiseworthy," but apparently unavailing, efforts to suppress the liquor traffic.<sup>73</sup> It was, in fact, not until after Bathoeng's visit to England in 1895 that the importation of European liquor was at last put to an end.

Warren, after his tour of the Protectorate in 1885, had submitted various proposals for the administration and settlement of the Territory. They were opposed by the High Commissioner, mainly because of the expenditure that would be involved, and the Imperial Government, still uncertain of its future policy, was also unwilling to commit itself too deeply.<sup>74</sup> Gaseitsiwe's offer of land was therefore not taken up, nor was any immediate attempt made to bring his people under more direct administrative supervision. Mr. (afterwards Sir) S. Shippard was appointed Deputy Commissioner for the Protectorate in October 1885, but his powers were limited to "promoting peace and order" within the Territory.<sup>75</sup> Two years later, however, a small detach-

<sup>71</sup> *Bluebook C. 4588* (1885), pp. 17, 36 f., 48, 93.

<sup>72</sup> *Bluebook C. 4643* (1886), p. 250.

<sup>73</sup> *White Papers African (South) No. 369* (March 1889), p. 2.

<sup>74</sup> *Bluebook C. 4588* (1885), pp. 49 ff., 116, 118.

<sup>75</sup> *Bluebook C. 4643* (1886), p. 174.

<sup>70</sup> *Bluebook C. 4588* (1885), pp. 91 ff.

ment of Bechuanaland Border Police was stationed at Kanye to maintain communication with the Chief, and for sundry police duties like the recovery of stolen stock.<sup>76</sup> This was among the first steps in the assumption of a control that gradually and increasingly diminished the political independence of the tribe.

Before this, however, Gaseitsiwe had already had some experience of the rôle that the Administration was destined to play in the life of his people. At the end of 1885 Mr. Shippard sent Lieut. Bethell to try to effect a settlement between the BaNgwaketse and the BagaMalete. The question had arisen again through a request from the South African Republic to be informed if Mokgosi and his people were under British protection, or could be considered subjects of the Transvaal. Mokgosi himself had previously complained of being molested by the Boers, and had expressed an anxiety to be included in the Protectorate. Bethell's instructions were "to induce the Chief Gassitsive . . . to allow the Border Chief Magosi, on moderate and reasonable terms, to take up his permanent residence, and to occupy within the limits of Gassitsive's country, a sufficient location for all Magosi's people, including those now in the Transvaal." Mokgosi was at the same time to be told that he must decide, "immediately and once for all," whether he wished to retain his "grazing and arable lands and other property in the Transvaal," or whether he would abandon all claim to them. If he chose the first alternative, he was to "return and live entirely in the Transvaal as a Transvaal subject, having no claim whatever on British protection"; if he preferred the second, he was to become "a subject of Gassitsive, bound to pay moderate and reasonable tribute, and otherwise to obey Gassitsive in all things lawful."

Bethell saw Gaseitsiwe and other BaNgwaketse on December 25 (1885). "At first the Chief said that he would like to see Machosi turned into the Transvaal, but upon my demonstrating to him the advantages he would derive from Machosi's presence in his country, he gradually came round," and signed a draft treaty prepared by Bethell.

<sup>76</sup> *Bluebook C.5363* (1888), p. 10.

The latter then went to Ramoutsa, where he interviewed Mokgosi's son Ikaneng and other BagaMalete. They "expressed the very strongest disapprobation" at having to pay tribute to Gaseitsiwe, offering to do so to the British Government instead, but Bethell ultimately secured their signature to his treaty. By it, Gaseitsiwe agreed to let the BagaMalete live in his country, on land sufficient for all their normal requirements, provided that: (a) they paid him an annual "rent" of ten head of cattle; (b) they recognized him as their paramount Chief, "they retaining the right of jurisdiction in all matters immediately connected with their (own) tribe"; and (c) they abided within such boundaries of the territory assigned to them "as may from time to time be mutually agreed." These conditions were accepted by the BagaMalete. They agreed also not to interfere with or engage in any hostile action against the BaNgwaketse, without first submitting the matter to arbitration. Finally, they engaged to waive all their claims to land and other property in the Transvaal, once their people living there had moved over into the Protectorate.<sup>77</sup>

The BagaMalete, however, were not satisfied with the agreement, and when, in March 1888, a Government Notice was issued giving Gaseitsiwe paramountcy over them in respect of mineral concessions, they protested. Mr. J. S. Moffat (Assistant Commissioner for the Protectorate) therefore held a meeting with them in July at Dimawé, which was attended also by representatives of the BaNgwaketse. Ikaneng, who had in the meantime succeeded Mokgosi, said that he had signed the treaty "only . . . because he was told by Lieutenant Bethell that unless he did so the Government would make war upon him at once." Several witnesses, including the local missionary, bore out his statement. Ikaneng said also that he had paid the ten head of cattle on the understanding that they were for the Government, and not for Gaseitsiwe. The High Commissioner, to whom the matter was referred, held that it was now too late to reopen the question of

<sup>77</sup> *Bluebook C.4432* (1885), pp. 110, 154; *C.4588* (1885), pp. 16 f.; *C.4643* (1886), pp. 248 ff.



the treaty, or to discuss the means by which it was obtained: Ikaneng had under the agreement secured "the peaceful tenancy of a portion of Gaseitsiwe's country," and he could not be allowed to repudiate the payment, which would, if necessary, be enforced by the Administration. In regard to mineral concessions, Moffat told the meeting "that on no consideration whatever would Ikaneng be allowed to grant concessions in the country which he occupied. Such concessions would be of no value whatever." The High Commissioner, however, laid down also that "Gaseitsiwe should not issue prospecting licences for any portion of the country leased to Ikaneng without that Chief's consent."<sup>78</sup> There the matter rested for the moment.

It had been decided in the meantime to take steps to administer the territory more effectively. With this object Mr. Shippard met all the Chiefs of the Protectorate at Kopong in February 1889. There he put before them proposals for a defensive alliance of the Chiefs to protect the country against filibusters, a peaceful settlement of all inter-tribal disputes relating to land and other matters, the erection of railway and telegraph lines, the introduction of medical services, and the payment of hut-tax by the Natives as a contribution towards the cost of protecting them. Little objection was raised to some of the proposals, but there was violent objection to the suggested hut-tax. Bathoeng, speaking for the BaNgwaketse, said that they would on no account pay the tax. Most of the other Chiefs spoke in the same strain, and there was obviously a good deal of passion displayed, for Shippard abruptly terminated the proceedings.<sup>79</sup>

A few months later, Gaseitsiwe died (8th July, 1889), at the age of approximately seventy. He had been ailing for several years past, and the actual government of the tribe had been carried out by his son Bathoeng, who now formally succeeded him as Chief. Gaseitsiwe does not seem to have been a strong ruler, and he was also

addicted to drink, but he apparently inspired the affection of his people, who remember him as a gentle and kind-hearted Chief. He never became a Christian, although he supported the work of the missionaries and put an end to various obnoxious practices. Towards the end of his life, however, in 1887, he allowed the heathen members of the tribe, alarmed at the spread of Christianity, to burn a Church and the homes of Christians, whom they assaulted indiscriminately. Bathoeng was away at the time on a visit to Kgama, but his sympathies lay with the Christians, and this act induced him to side with them still more openly.<sup>80</sup>

The meeting at Kopong had shown that most of the Protectorate Chiefs, including Bathoeng, were not yet reconciled to being under the authority of the British Government, and wished to be as independent as before. Trouble was therefore expected from him when, early in 1890, it was decided to push ahead with the construction of the telegraph line. Shippard, who visited him in May, reported that he was apparently entirely in the hands of European syndicates, from whom he received an annual income of £900. The Kanya Exploration Company had obtained from him a concession giving them a monopoly of railways and telegraphs in his territory, and he "point blank refused" to sanction the construction of the telegraph, even through the territory occupied by the BagaMaletse, unless the Administration could come to terms with the Company. "He also refused to give, sell, or let on any terms any land whatever in his territory for the use of the Bechuanaland police." It is significant, however, that Shippard negotiated separately with Ikaneng, who not only raised no objections to the telegraph, but agreed to supply labourers to construct the line from Ramoutsa to Ngotwane junction.

The High Commissioner instructed Shippard to inform the Chiefs that the telegraph line would be erected, whether they wanted it or not, and that the claims of European concessionaries could not be admitted. Bathoeng then wrote to Shippard that he and his people were not opposed

<sup>78</sup> *Bluebook C.5524* (1888), pp. 40 ff.

<sup>79</sup> Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-71. I have been unable to find any official record of this meeting, although the preliminary details are mentioned in (White Book) *African (South) No. 372* (February 1890), pp. 7 f.

<sup>80</sup> Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 ff.

to the construction of the telegraph, and would not interfere in any way, but he had already given a concession for the same purpose to certain people, and felt therefore that the Administration's action put him in a humiliating position. He was told in reply that the Administration could not allow him to give away to private persons rights that were necessary to his protection, and that the concessionaires had accordingly been told that this particular concession was disallowed. Thereafter the construction of the telegraph proceeded without further trouble from the BaNgwaketse.<sup>81</sup>

In August 1890 Mr. W. H. Surmon was appointed Assistant Commissioner for the Protectorate, with headquarters at Gaberones. He was soon called upon to intervene in a boundary dispute between the BaNgwaketse and the BaHurutshe under Gopane. The latter, who lived in the Transvaal, had originally obtained permission from Gaseitsiwe to graze their cattle in the eastern portions of his territory adjoining them. In time they also began to plough there, and ultimately they drove some BaNgwaketse away from their fields and destroyed the young crops, claiming that the country was theirs (November 1890). Surmon went to the disputed area to hold an inquiry, but the BaHurutshe who were there would not acknowledge his right to intervene. Acting on the High Commissioner's instructions, he thereupon gave them a fortnight's notice to move away, failing which Bathoeng would be allowed to expel them by force, with help from the police if necessary. The BaHurutshe accordingly returned to the Transvaal. In April 1891 Surmon held a formal inquiry into the dispute. He found that the land in question undoubtedly belonged to the BaNgwaketse, and that the BaHurutshe had no valid claim to it.<sup>82</sup>

At the time the BaNgwaketse were also involved in a boundary dispute with the BaRolong-boo-RaTshidi. The BaNgwaketse, relying upon the

Keate Award of 1871, claimed that the BaRolong had no right to occupy the country north of Ramatlhabama. The BaRolong, basing their case upon the fact that they had cattleposts in the disputed area, contended that they were entitled to the country extending as far north as Pitsana Photlokwe and westwards beyond Matšheng. Mr. J. S. Moffat, who was appointed to go into the question, upheld their claim. Bathoeng, who shortly afterwards visited Cape Town (June 1892), protested to the High Commissioner about the loss of his territory at Matšheng. A meeting of representatives of both tribes was called to put up beacons on the new boundary line. The BaNgwaketse, when they learned where it was to be, refused to accept the award or to help in putting up the beacons. A fresh inquiry was therefore held by Surmon and Moffat (November 1892) and they altered the previous decision by excluding the BaRolong from the region of Matšheng, but giving them, in the east, the land between Ramatlhabama and Kgoro.<sup>83</sup>

In 1895 the question arose of transferring the administration of the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the British South Africa Company. Bathoeng, on hearing of the negotiations, at once protested on behalf of the BaNgwaketse, and forwarded a petition to the Secretary of State asking that they might remain under Imperial rule. They feared that the Company would take away and sell their land to others, and also that it would reintroduce the liquor traffic. Not satisfied with this, Bathoeng accompanied Kgama and Sebele to England to present his objections in person. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of State, saw them early in September. He told them that the Government intended ultimately to hand over the administration of the whole Protectorate to the B.S.A. Company, but that the time for the transfer had not yet been fixed. After stating also that every consideration would be given to their wishes about the conditions of transfer, he promised to see them again in November, on his return from a projected holiday, but he advised them to negotiate in the meantime with the Com-

<sup>81</sup> (White Book) *African (South)* No. 392 (December 1890), pp. 216 ff., 253 f., 274.

<sup>82</sup> (White Book) *African (South)* No. 403 (1891), pp. 66 ff., 95, 107 f.; Report and Proceedings of Inquiry (Administrator's despatch No. 213 G. of 26.6.1891)

<sup>83</sup> Lloyd *op. cit.*, pp. 171 f.; (White Book) *African (South)* No. 746 (1905) 292.



pany. The Chiefs wrote in reply that their objections still stood, and repeated their request to remain directly under the Queen. They asked that the boundaries of their territories should be defined and that Reserves should be established for them, and promised in return to pay hut-tax. Mr. Chamberlain, pointing out that their letter contained nothing which they had not already told him, again advised them to negotiate with the Company, but promised to reconsider the matter if no agreement could be reached.

The B.S.A. Company had meanwhile been negotiating separately with Ikaneng, through whose territory it was proposed to build the railway line to the north. Ikaneng himself agreed to come under the Company's administration, but as there still remained the question of Bathoeng's paramountcy over the BagaMalete, which had hitherto been recognized by the Protectorate authorities, Shippard was asked to go into the matter. He reported in due course that he considered the BagaMalete to have clearly established, by both conquest and prescription, their claim to the country they occupied. "I have no hesitation," he said, "in stating my conviction that the Chief Bathoen is not paramount over the Chief Ikaneng, and that the Bamalete are to all intents and purposes an independent tribe." Bathoeng was at the same time asked in England to consent formally to the transfer of this particular area, which his father Gaseitsiwe had offered to the Crown in 1885. He replied that he did not understand why the question should be dealt with aside from the wider issue, since in any case part of his country was concerned.

Meanwhile the negotiations with the B.S.A. Company had broken down, the Chiefs objecting to the amount of land the Company wished them to surrender. They said, however, that if they could remain under the Queen's protection they would be willing to surrender some land to the Crown. A second interview with Mr. Chamberlain was held on November 6, when it was agreed that the proposal to transfer the administration of the whole territory to the B.S.A. Company should be dropped. The Chiefs each undertook to surrender part of their land for European settle-

ment and railway purposes, and, in the case of the BaNgwaketse, this land included the territory inhabited by the BagaMalete. In return, each Chief was to have a defined Reserve within which he would live, as hitherto, under the Queen's protection. An officer would be stationed with him, "to decide all cases in which white men, or black men who do not belong to the tribe of one of the three Chiefs, are concerned, or in which the punishment is death. He will also have a right to hear an appeal in any very serious case, even if the punishment is short of death." Subject to these reservations, the Chiefs could rule their own people, "much as at present." The latter would be required to pay hut-tax, but the Chiefs would be allowed to collect it. Finally, the introduction of European liquor into the Reserves would be prohibited.<sup>84</sup>

## VI. THE CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH RULE

Following upon the settlement of November 1895, Major H. Goold-Adams was appointed to demarcate the boundaries of the areas to be reserved for the Chiefs. By the middle of 1896 he had completed his work among the BaNgwaketse. Bathoeng accepted without complaint the eastern boundary, cutting off the railway strip (now the Lobatsi Block) and the territory of the BagaMalete. But he protested that the southern and western boundaries marked out by Goold-Adams deprived him of land to which he felt entitled under the settlement arrived at in England. A lengthy correspondence with the Government followed, as a result of which certain adjustments were made to meet his wishes as far as possible. Finally, by Proclamation No. 9 of 1899, the BaNgwaketse Reserve was established and its boundaries were formally defined.<sup>85</sup> About the same time, by Proclamation No. 10 of 1899, a hut-tax of 10s. per annum was imposed upon every male adult in the tribe.

The Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 did not greatly affect the BaNgwaketse. Like all the

<sup>84</sup> *Bluebook C. 7962* (1896), pp. 12, 15 f., 17 f., 19, 20 ff., etc.; (White Books) *African (South) No. 498* (June 1896), pp. 123 ff.

<sup>85</sup> *White Books* *African (South) 517* (1898), pp. 57 f., 119 f., 132 ff., 202 f.; *574* (1899), pp. 217 ff.

other tribes in the Protectorate, they were told that it was a war between White people only, in which they were not to intervene unless the Boers invaded their Reserve. Bathoeng stationed men along his southern and eastern boundaries to guard against violation, but they were never called upon to fight. Later in the war he also provided men to work with the transport wagons supplying the British troops.

The early days of 1902 saw the beginning of a Church dispute that threatened at one time to lead to a serious split in the tribe. There was at Kanye a Native preacher of the London Missionary Society named Mothowagae Motlogelwa, who had been working amongst the BaNgwaketse since 1884. In 1901 the Church authorities ordered him to take over the station at Lehututu. He refused to go, saying that his wife's health could not stand the climate. Because of this, he was dismissed from his position in the Church. This action greatly offended some members of the congregation, who also complained of the autocratic manner in which Rev. E. Lloyd and the deacons were ruling Church affairs. They resented particularly that the Church dues payable by men had been raised from 5s. to 10s. per annum, and that the making and drinking of *kgadi* by Church members had been prohibited.<sup>86</sup> They accordingly seceded from the Church, and established their own congregation, with Mothowagae as their leader. Then, through the Chief, they asked the London Missionary Society to ordain Mothowagae as a minister, so that he could dispense the sacraments of baptism, holy communion, and marriage. Mothowagae was summoned to the conference of the L.M.S. district committee in 1902 for examination, but his request for ordination was refused, partly because he lacked the necessary educational qualifications, but mainly because he had been guilty of schism.

Bathoeng seems at first to have been against the schismatics, but as they included some of the most influential headmen of the tribe, especially

his brother-in-law Tsimba, he gave in as far as possible to their wishes, in order to avoid a political breach. Some of Mothowagae's followers wished to annex the Church building by force for their services, but the Church had been handed over to the care of the L.M.S. by deed of gift in 1898, and Bathoeng was therefore told by the Assistant Commissioner that it would be unlawful for him to place a minister of another persuasion there. The schismatics, who now called themselves the "King Edward BaNgwaketse Free Church," were allowed instead to hold their services in the *kgotla*. Their numbers rapidly increased, until they were some 700 strong; and as their meetings interfered with the work of the *kgotla*, they subscribed to erect their own building.

Bathoeng soon fell out with Mothowagae, the strength and importance of whose following disturbed him. Towards the end of 1903 he informed the Administration that he had ordered Mothowagae to leave the Reserve, alleging that Mothowagae treated him as an equal and not as a Chief, and would not obey him. Some of the leading royal headmen sided with Mothowagae, and interceded in vain with Bathoeng to forgive him. The Assistant Commissioner, fearing that the matter might degenerate into a violent tribal dispute, persuaded the Chief to modify his order to one of banishment to some other part of the Reserve, on condition that Mothowagae publicly apologized and undertook to recognize Bathoeng's authority. Bathoeng duly informed the tribe to this effect at a *kgotla* meeting held on November 11, after Mothowagae had made the necessary apology. That night Mothowagae went to the home of Bathoeng's mother, by whom he was brought to the *kgotla* early the following morning. This act, in Ngwaketse custom, meant that he had submitted completely to Bathoeng, who now had no alternative but to withdraw his threatened punishment. Mothowagae was therefore allowed to stay on in Kanye, as if nothing had happened; but, as we shall soon see, the trouble again came to a head a few years later.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *Kgadi* is a highly intoxicating fermented liquor "made from water to which the powder commonly known as *seretse* has been added, and golden syrup, or treacle or molasses, or sugar, or honey."

<sup>87</sup> Papers in Mafeking Registry, J.410A and J.715.



In 1904 Bathoeng's authority was challenged from another source. Some years previously, after the initiation of the Matshelaphala regiment (c. 1896), he had decided to abolish the traditional initiation ceremonies (*bogwêra* and *bojale*). The Malau regiment (1901) was accordingly formed without undergoing the ceremonies, although some of the boys concerned ran away to neighbouring tribes to be initiated there according to traditional usage. Then, in defiance of Bathoeng's prohibition, Gobuamang, headman of the BaKgatla-bagaMmanaana at Moshupa, organized a *bogwêra* ceremony of his own. Bathoeng reported the matter to the Administration, and complained also that Gobuamang had previously flouted his authority in other ways. About the same time Gobuamang adopted an attitude of open defiance against the Administration as well. He refused to surrender one of his men who was wanted by the Police, and it was only when he was himself threatened with instant arrest that he ultimately gave way. The Resident Commissioner went with a strong escort to Moshupa, where he severely reprimanded Gobuamang and the BaKgatla, and warned them to be more obedient in future to the Administration and to the Chief.<sup>88</sup>

The abolition of the circumcision ceremonies was not the only change that Bathoeng introduced in tribal laws and customs. He put an end to the practice whereby a man could claim his deceased wife's sister even if she was already married to someone else; he allowed people to weed their fields without waiting for this to be done first at the Chief's fields; and he punished cases of seduction by fines imposed upon both the boy and the girl concerned. He also prohibited the importation of European liquor, the making and drinking of *kgadi* (1904), the inspanning and use of wagons on Sundays, the holding of dances at night, the killing of big game animals, the sale of corn to traders, and various other practices of the same kind that he considered either incompatible with Christianity or opposed to the economic welfare of the tribe.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Gobuamang Enquiry, 1932 (Minutes of Evidence).

<sup>89</sup> Information obtained at Kanye, 1938, 1941.

Bathoeng while Chief also imposed an annual levy of 2s. per tax-payer in order to subsidize education.<sup>90</sup> Although schools had been established among the BaNgwaketse by the L.M.S. before 1860, progress had been comparatively slow. The Assistant Commissioner for the Southern Protectorate reported in 1901 that the school at Kanye had two Native teachers and an average enrolment of 150 pupils, who were being taught SeTswana, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, the scriptures, and general information. At Moshupa there was another school, with two teachers and an average enrolment of 50 pupils. Irregular schools were also held at Moshaneng, Ranaka, and Mashwaane. The approximate annual cost of all these schools to the L.M.S. was £106 for payment of teachers, and £10 for furniture, books, etc. The old Church building at Kanye had also recently been renovated and fitted up for use as a school at the cost of £350.

Four years later, when Mr. E. B. Sargent inspected the schools, there had been little improvement, although the special educational levy had in the meantime been introduced. The school at Kanye had 121 pupils, of whom 99 were in the two lowest sub-standards; the head teacher was paid by the Chief, and his assistant by the L.M.S. At Moshupa there were only 20 pupils at school. In both places the effects of Mothowagae's schism were reflected in the existence of separate schools for the children of his adherents. Altogether the position was by no means satisfactory. In 1910, however, an advance was made in the establishment of a local school committee, including representatives of the L.M.S. and of the tribe, with the Resident Magistrate as chairman. The BaNgwaketse were the first to adopt this method of stimulating an interest in education among the people generally, which has since been

<sup>90</sup> I am indebted to Chief Bathoeng II for the following note: "The Chief Bathoeng I, in order to stimulate education among his people, engaged a teacher who received £2 per annum per student. The Tribal records do not show when this system started and how long it lasted, but its existence is revealed in the school registers for 1897. The special educational levy (referred to in the text) continued to be paid until the creation of the B.P. Native Fund in 1919."

extended to the other tribes in the Protectorate.<sup>91</sup>

About this time there was a recrudescence of the trouble with Mothowagae. It was by now apparent that his more prominent supporters, comprising many of the royal headmen, were inspired not so much by religious motives as by opposition to Bathoeng. The story of this opposition goes back to the days of Gaseitsiwe. Bathoeng's mother, Keitebetse, was not a MoNgwaketse, but a MoTlharo, and the royal headmen did not welcome the thought of being ruled by the son of a woman whom they considered a foreigner. It is said that they worked upon Gaseitsiwe until they persuaded him to send away Keitebetse, and to marry instead Mothwane, daughter of Mathiba (one of Makaba II's sons). Mothwane failed to produce a son, and Gaseitsiwe was therefore induced to take Ntebang, daughter of Mathiba's younger brother Modietsho, as her *seantlo* (substitute). Ntebang gave birth to a son, and when the news was brought to the *kgotla* the headmen rejoiced, and said that the child should be named *Kwenaetsile*, "A crocodile has come," i.e. one who was of pure Ngwaketse stock on both sides.

Kwenaetsile grew up under the care of Bathoeng. The royal headmen, to whom he was related through his mother as well as his father, intended that he should one day become their Chief. They began stirring him up secretly against his elder (half-)brother, and, fearing to attack Bathoeng openly, they seized upon Mothowagae's secession from the L.M.S. as a means of strengthening their following. Bathoeng realized this, and after hesitating for some time came out openly against the dissidents. He held several public meetings at which he accused them of trying to bewitch him and his son Seêpapitsô, and he said that all those holding his cattle should either abandon Mothowagae or restore the animals. As this did not mend matters, he later asked the Administration to intervene. The Assistant Commissioner, at his request, addressed the tribe in *kgotla*, telling Mothowagae's followers to return

to the L.M.S. Failure to comply would be looked upon as disobedience of the Chief's order, which would be visited with punishment involving banishment from the Reserve. Kwenaetsile himself was by now dead, and most of his partisans, no longer having a claimant to the Chieftainship to support, decided to comply with the Chief's order. Mothowagae, however, and a few other men refused to do so. Bathoeng therefore decided to expel him from the Reserve, but agreed, at the Resident Commissioner's request, to modify the sentence to one of banishment from Kanye.

At this stage Bathoeng himself died (July 1, 1910), at the age of sixty-five. He was succeeded by his son Seêpapitsô, a young man of excellent promise and good education. Seêpapitsô immediately enforced Bathoeng's decision regarding Mothowagae, who was ordered to move with his family to Lekgôlbôtlô. None of his followers were allowed to accompany him, but he was told that his teaching would not be interfered with so long as he confined himself to religion and did not try to stir up the people against the Chief. The following year (1911) Seêpapitsô complained to the Resident Commissioner that Mothowagae was in touch with an "Ethiopian" preacher, who had advised him to call his followers to live with him at Lekgôlbôtlô. This development, however, was immediately suppressed.<sup>92</sup>

Seêpapitsô had also inherited from Bathoeng's rule the agitation against incorporation into the Union. At the end of 1908, when it became known that proposals were afoot to bring about a union of the South African Colonies, Bathoeng wrote to the Assistant Commissioner asking how his people would be affected. On being told that no immediate change would be made, but that the ultimate incorporation of the Protectorate was contemplated, he wrote to the High Commissioner protesting against the prospect of being handed over to the Union. Not satisfied with the reply he received, he and his people sent a

<sup>91</sup> Report by Mr. E. B. Sargent on Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, (MS.); Report on Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate for 1934, p. 5.

<sup>92</sup> I. Schapera, *Ditirafalô*, pp. 146-49, and other information obtained at Kanye, 1938; Moseley, History of the BaNgwaketse" (MS. 1926); Mafeking Registry J.715 (papers relating to Mothowagae).



petition to the King, asking to remain directly under the Crown. They commented adversely upon the position of Natives in the colonies that were to be united, and said they were sure that they would be better off if they were left in their present position. "The protest of the BaNgwaketse," said the Resident Commissioner in a letter to the High Commissioner (16.8.1910), "serves to emphasize the bitter and rooted prejudice which undoubtedly exists throughout our Native tribes against any change in the present system. They have the strongest feeling of dread of coming under a Colonial Government, and I am now convinced that any attempts at explanation are useless." The truth of the last statement was borne out by the fact that Seêpapisô, despite the assurance he was given that there was no immediate prospect of incorporation, protested again in 1912 against the proposal itself.

In other ways, too, Seêpapisô showed that he was genuinely concerned about the welfare of his tribe. He was unquestionably the most progressive Chief of his time in the whole Protectorate, and during his rule the BaNgwaketse showed marked improvement both economically and socially. He set his people a useful example in making dams and sinking boreholes, and continually urged them to devote greater attention to cattle-herding; he was responsible for introducing the first resident medical practitioner; and he fostered education as zealously as he could. He initiated the very useful practice of keeping records not only of every case tried in his *kgotla*, but of all the public meetings that he held with his people. In January 1913 he drew up a code of laws for the tribe, consisting mainly of the regulations made by his father and by himself. Apart from many minor changes, he renewed and strictly enforced the law against *kgadi*, which Bathoeng had originally passed; he prohibited the drinking of beer at night; he insisted that men should give *bogadi* for their wives at the time of marriage, and not subsequently, as had become the common practice; he introduced the principle that, in a divorce case, the offending spouse should pay compensation to the other; he strongly

opposed miscegenation with Europeans; he prohibited the younger men from marrying more than one wife without his knowledge and consent; he ordered that widows and daughters should share in the inheritance of a man's estate; he prohibited the sale of cattle without his permission; and he tried to control the activities of the magicians (*dingaka*) by keeping a register of their names and specifying the conditions under which they could claim payment of fees. He also co-operated readily with the Administration in all its dealings with the tribe, particularly in regard to the collection of hut-tax.

Seêpapisô's promising career was brought to a tragic end after a reign of only six years, when on June 18, 1916, he was shot dead in the tribal *kgotla* by his younger brother Moyapitsô. There had for some time been ill-feeling between them, Moyapitsô contending that he had not received a fair share of their father's estate; and this, as far as can be ascertained, seems to have been the only motive for his act. He was duly tried by the Government authorities for the murder, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to death and subsequently hanged.

## VII. THE MODERN PERIOD

With the death of Seêpapisô, the BaNgwaketse entered upon a period of stagnation. His son and heir, Bathoeng, was only eight years old at the time, and Seêpapisô had no brothers apart from Moyapitsô. Kgosimotse, half-brother of Bathoeng I, was therefore appointed Acting Chief. He is said to have been a good and quiet Chief, but he suffered from cancer, and died on October 9, 1918. His brief reign was not marked by any event of special importance, except that in 1917 he sent a number of men to Europe as part of the South African Native Labour Contingent attached to the British forces fighting in Flanders. Kgosimotse was succeeded by the next senior royal headman, Malope, a grandson of Segotshane. Malope was also a very sickly man, suffering from heart disease, and after a nominal regency of only a few months he died, on June 8, 1919. He was succeeded by Tshosa, the great-grandson of Sebegu.

Owing to the ill-health of Kgositotse and Malope, the conduct of tribal affairs had drifted badly, and the marked progress due to Seêpapitsô's activities soon showed signs of decay. Tshosa, who was also unheathy, did not mend matters. His illness, from which he had been suffering for several years, had somewhat deranged his mind, and much as he tried to do good his decisions were invariably opposed to the opinions of the majority of the tribe. At last, in July 1923, a public meeting was called at the instance of Gagoangwe, widow of Bathoeng I. She told the people that the tribe no longer appeared to recognize its laws, and that they were gradually going farther and farther on the downward path. It was generally agreed that Tshosa was largely to blame, and Gagoangwe announced that henceforth she would be the "heart" of the tribe, with Tshosa acting merely as her mouthpiece. Tshosa, however, continued to rule without referring tribal matters to Gagoangwe, and it was soon discovered that, owing to either his dishonesty or his negligence, a large sum of money was missing from tribal funds. He and his secretary were ordered to repay the money as best they could, and it was agreed, at a tribal meeting held in March 1924, that Gagoangwe should in future be the actual ruler of the tribe, with the headmen Mokgadi, Ratlhaudi, and Raseepe, to act as her advisers and carry out her instructions.

Gagoangwe, who was by birth a daughter of the famous Kwena Chief Sechele I, was at the time over seventy years old, but she was renowned for her intelligence and knowledge, and under her just and firm rule a marked improvement took place in tribal affairs. It was during her regency that the Seventh Day Adventist Church was allowed to establish a medical mission in the Reserve, thus satisfying what had long been one of the greatest needs of the people. Unfortunately, however, she suffered from cancer, and for some months towards the end she was unable to leave her bed, but she held on bravely and refused to abandon what she considered her duty. A few days before she died, she sent for the Resident Magistrate and said that she wanted her daughter Ntebogang to succeed her, until her grandson,

Bathoeng, was old enough to take the chair. She died on September 20, 1924, greatly lamented by all her people.

Ntebogang (elder sister of Seêpapitsô) then became Acting Chief of the tribe. She conducted its affairs with the aid of the three advisers who had been selected by Gagoangwe, and added to them three more: Kebapetse, Mokgalagadi, and Kgampu. Her reign was on the whole uneventful, and on April 13, 1928, she formally handed over office to her nephew, who now became Chief Bathoeng II. The new Chief almost immediately afterwards had to take strong action against Kgampu and another headman named Sebonego, who were found to have been attempting to bewitch him and to restore Ntebogang to her former position. It was decided to banish them to Kika, on the eastern border of the Reserve (May, 1928). Later in the same year Sebonego died of tuberculosis in Kanye Hospital, but Kgampu is still living in exile at Kika.

Bathoeng, although still a comparatively young man (he was born May 18, 1908), has shown himself as able and progressive a Chief as his father. He re-enforced the laws passed by Bathoeng I and Seêpapitsô, and introduced several new ones of his own: for instance, he prohibited the sale, but not the drinking, of beer; he renewed the prohibition of polygamy among the younger men of the tribe, and ordered the Christians also to adhere to the practice of giving *bogadi* for their wives; and he appointed tribal police to see that all the laws were observed. He has taken a leading part in the proceedings of the B.P. Native Advisory Council, and has lately acted as the official spokesman there of all the Native members. He also joined with Chief Tshekedi, of the BaNgwato, in protesting against the legality of Proclamations Nos. 74 and 75 of 1934 (the Native Administration, and the Native Tribunals, Proclamations); but, once their validity was upheld by the verdict of the Special Court in 1936, he rendered every assistance in giving effect to their provisions as far as his own tribe was concerned.

The only other outstanding event hitherto of Bathoeng's reign was the difficulty he had with



Gobuamang, head of the BaKgatla at Moshupa. Gobuamang, as we have already seen, had for long been a source of trouble both to the Administration and to the Chiefs of the BaNgwaketse, whom he repeatedly refused to obey and whose paramount authority he refused to recognize. After a good deal of friction caused by his unruly behaviour, an administrative inquiry was held in November 1932. It was decided to order him to remove to Kanye, where he could be under the direct supervision and control of the Chief. He refused to obey the order, and his people supported him. A small party of police sent by the Administration to arrest and bring him in met with such open defiance that bloodshed was narrowly averted (April 1933). Fortunately, the BaKgatla almost immediately afterwards realized the folly of their behaviour, and Gobuamang

agreed to surrender himself unconditionally to the Administration. He was arrested and sentenced to a short period of imprisonment, while his people were fined 100 head of cattle and deprived of some of their arms for having resisted the police. Gobuamang was also banished from the BaNgwaketse Reserve, and a home was found for him at GaThamaga, in the BaKwena Reserve not far from Moshupa. Such of his people as wished to join him were allowed to do so, with the result that approximately half the population of Moshupa moved across to Ga-Thamaga. Those remaining behind were placed under the headmanship of Gobuamang's son Kgabesetso, and Bathceng also established new villages at Gookodisa and at Moshupa itself to keep watch over their future behaviour.

[For Appendices I and II see next page]

## APPENDIX I

## ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE TRIBE

As indicated in the text, the BaNgwaketse have during the course of their history absorbed or been joined by various groups of alien peoples. The present population of the tribe is accordingly derived from many different stocks, of which the following are the more important.<sup>1</sup>

Tribal Stock	Totem	Taxpayers (1941)
BaNgwaketse	<i>kwena</i> (crocodile)	2,855
BaSebako <sup>2</sup>	<i>kgomo</i> (ox)	439
BaKgalagadi <sup>3</sup>	Miscellaneous	107
BaKgwatlheng <sup>4</sup>	<i>tlou</i> (elephant)	129
BaTsopye <sup>4</sup>	<i>tlou</i> (elephant)	517
BaTloung <sup>4</sup>	<i>tlou</i> (elephant)	106
BaPhaleng <sup>4</sup>	<i>phala</i> (roebeek)	408
BaKwena	<i>kwena</i> (crocodile)	347
BaHurutshe	<i>tshwene</i> (baboon)	551
BaKhurutshe	<i>phofu</i> (eland)	15
BaTlharo	<i>tshwene</i> (baboon)	83
BaKgatla	<i>kgabo</i> (ape)	911
BaNgwato	<i>phuti</i> (duiker)	312
BaTawana	<i>phuti</i> (duiker)	46
BaRolong	<i>tshipi</i> (iron)	38
BaTlhaping	<i>thólo</i> (kudu)	170
BaPhiring	<i>phiri</i> (hyena)	74
BagaLaka	<i>phuti</i> (duiker)	14
BaTaung	<i>tau</i> (lion)	10
		7,132

<sup>1</sup> The table is derived from an analysis of the ethnic affiliations of the various recognised ward-heads in the tribe. The third column gives the number of taxpayers (=adult males) under the ward-heads of the different communities. By no means all the men subject to a particular ward-head belong to the same stock as himself, but I have not yet been able to make a more detailed analysis for the tribe as a whole.

<sup>2</sup> These people are said to have been of true Ngwaketse stock, but changed their totem because of some episode in their history.

<sup>3</sup> The proportion of BaKgalagadi is actually much higher than here shown, but as the majority fall under ward-heads of Ngwaketse origin it is not possible to give their number separately.

<sup>4</sup> As far as can be ascertained, these people were originally BaKgalagadi.

## APPENDIX II

## POPULATION OF THE BANGWAKETSE RESERVE

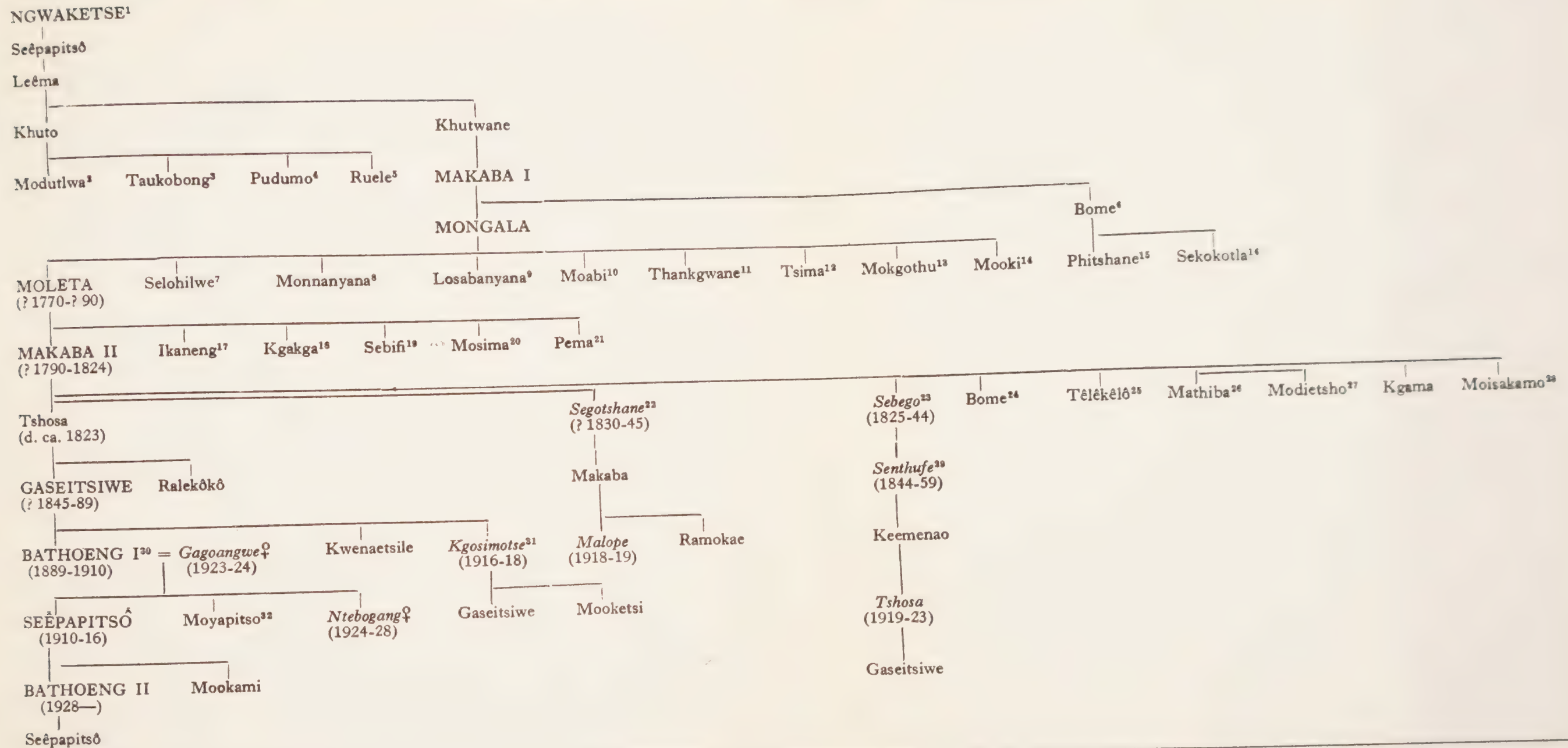
The following figures have been extracted from the census returns for 1921 and 1936. They are not too reliable for the Native population, but constitute the only comprehensive data at present available.

	1921	1936
NATIVES		
Males		
Unweaned Babes	1,280	596
Under 16	3,301	4,860
Over 16	2,920	3,805
Old People	1,083	2,447
8,584		11,708
Females		
Unweaned Babes	984	582
Under 16	2,894	4,790
Over 16	3,021	3,480
Old People	1,983	3,024
8,882		11,876
Total	17,466	23,584
Absentees	1,822	1,934
Grand Total	19,288	25,518
EUROPEANS		
Males	50	34
Females	32	29
Total	82	63
INDIANS		
Males	9	11
Females		6
Total	9	17
COLOURED		
Males	35	83
Females	14	76
Total	49	159



# GENEALOGY OF THE NGWAKETSE RULING HOUSE

[The names of chiefs are given in CAPITALS : those of regents in *italics*]



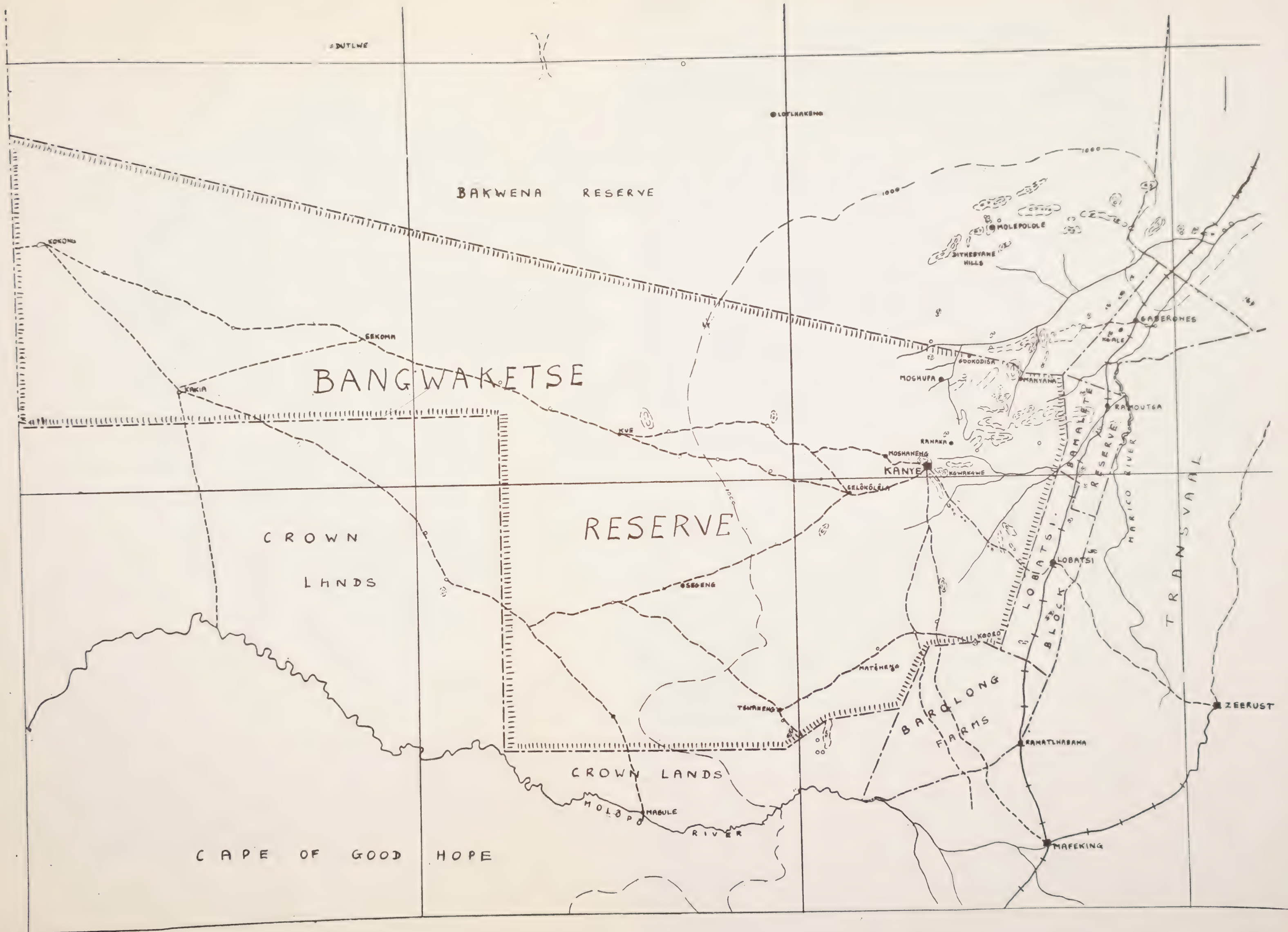
1. Titular founder of the tribe
2. Progenitor of MODUTLWA wards
3. " " TAUKOBONG, LOGABA, SEBONEGO wards
4. " " PUDUMO wards
5. " " RUELE "
6. " " BOME "
7. " " MONGALA (SELOHILWE) ward
8. " " MONGALA (MODUKANELE) ward
9. " " MORANYANA ward
10. " " MONGALA (MOABI) ward
11. " " MONGALA (MOLEME) "

12. Progenitor of MONGALA (TSIMA) ward
13. " " MONGALA (BODIBA) "
14. " " MOOKI ward
15. " " PHITSHANA ward
16. " " SEKOKOTLA "
17. " " MATLALO "
18. " " KGAKGA "
19. " " MASOSWANE "
20. " " MANARE "
21. " " SEGWANA "
22. " " SEGOTSHANE ward

23. Progenitor of SEBEGO ward : seceded with part of tribe
24. " " MAEAKWENA ward
25. " " TELEKELO "
26. " " MATHIBA "
27. " " MODIETSHO "
28. " " MOISAKAMO "
29. Ruled seceding part of tribe until reunion of 1859.
30. Progenitor of present ROYAL ward (KGOSING)
31. " " DINALEDI "
32. Hanged for murder of Seepapits0 (1916).











# MAKUA SONG-RIDDLES FROM THE INITIATION RITES

By LYNDON HARRIES

These song-riddles (*ikano*) differ in function from the ordinary Bantu spoken riddle. They are either action-songs accompanying a dance or else have a didactic purpose. The meaning of the riddle is not always explained to the children in the rites, but in the case of the didactic riddles the explanation is generally provided with much exhortation from the adults. An expert improviser leads the singing and the solution of some of the song-riddles is known only to himself. Each expert has his own stock of riddles, but a large proportion of these are well-known to other experts and differ only in grammatical forms.

My two principal informants were an old man called Hunkukulu and Chief Namariwa who learned most of his riddles from the first informant. This Chief is now a Christian, by name Isaka, and he no longer performs in public because the singing of these song-riddles has, after consultation with knowledgeable Christian Africans, been forbidden in the adaptation of the non-Christian rites by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. Although many of these song-riddles are quite harmless, others of them have double *entendre*, and it has been thought wiser to forbid them altogether rather than risk the consequences of only a partial ban. This is all the more reason for preserving as many as possible of these song-riddles. My business has been to record, and to make a note of the double meaning only where it has been explained to me.

It is tabu for an initiated person to tell these song-riddles to an uninitiated child. An initiated male person must not reveal them to a woman, nor an initiated female person to a man. Through the influence of the Mission, however, this tabu has lost much of its force. It will be seen that some of the riddles contain the ritual name of the object indicated in the solution. This ritual name is really the child-name, the name assigned to the object as belonging to the state before initiation, and it is called *ncina nokalai* (the old

name) not in the sense of being the name used long ago, but of being the name of the thing taught to the children in the rites as belonging to their uninitiated state. We must not understand from this that the child-name was actually used by the children before their initiation. They are taught the ritual name for the first time in the rites, and told never to use it again as it belongs to the old uninitiated life in the same way as their own personal name which must be similarly discarded after initiation. They must never reveal this ritual name to uninitiated children.

I have adopted the classification used by Dr. I. Schapera for spoken Bantu riddles. As to the orthography, dental *t* and *d* resemble the English sound *th* in "thin" and "their" with a stop in front of it, and are written *tth*, *ddh* respectively (rather like the pronunciation of *th* in "eighth," of *t* and *th* in "not thick" and of *d* and *th* in "read them.") Dental *t* and *d* are thus somewhat affricated. The sign *ʃ* represents the hushing fricative, represented in English by *sh* ("share.") I have not thought it necessary in this orthography to mark aspiration of consonants, for I have found no examples where aspiration is significant for the meaning.

The dialect of Makua illustrated in these texts is *Ikorowera*, a dialect of Northern Makua, spoken in the Ruvuma district of Tanganyika Territory and Portuguese East Africa.

## 1. NATURAL PHENOMENA :

### (1) R. *Ciwuyawuye*<sup>1</sup> *cikale poromoka*.<sup>2</sup>

Let the senses lie properly together.

A. *Ikoŵe yorupa*.

Sleep.

This song is explained as follows :

*Mtu arupaka ikoŵe iruſo caya cihomala cayku-lwi. Coŵkyai cinopangawe mtu, tthoko uweha womenttho, umumula, wiuwelela, coŵkyai cihohokolea cihokala ŵamoka mwikorweni, kiwo ineria tthoththoni yamalaka urupa.*

When a man sleeps all his senses are at rest (lit. are finished). Everything that a man does, like looking with his eyes, breathing, listening, everything returns and becomes one in sleep, there is nothing that is done again once he sleeps.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Ciwuyawuye*, derived noun from the duplicated ideophone *wuya* (of activity of the senses).

<sup>2</sup> *Poromoka*, adverb with alternative forms *poromoca*, *poromoci*. Cf. the proverb: *Citthukumanihie cihelie poromoka*. Let them be gathered together and placed properly. This proverb originates in the following story sometimes told to girls in *Ciputu* or else to pregnant women at the giving of instruction before birth of first child :—

*Ahotthama mtu mmoka*<sup>3</sup> *mwali ykanyara mwana, ayarieke*,<sup>4</sup> *ykakuma itihuku*. *Pahi ykera*, *Ncina nawe Kawarere*. *Dkeria*, *Awahie ndrete mwana oyo*. *Dkawahia ndrete*, *iputthu ykacanelaca*, *kulhalaka*<sup>5</sup> *iputthu imoka*. *Yeyo iputthu iyo pintheku*.

There was once a young woman and she bore a child, and when he was born (the child) came out in pimples. So she said, His name is Ugly One. And it was said, Let the child have medicine. And he received some medicine, and the swellings (i.e. the pimples) subsided, leaving one swelling. That swelling is the navel.

The proverb is used at a palaver when different people have been speaking. One man gets up to make a summary of all that has been said, i.e. he gathers the words together and puts them in their proper significance.

<sup>3</sup> *Ahotthama mtu mmoka*, lit. one person set out. A common way of beginning a story in Makua.

<sup>4</sup> *Ayarieke*, adverbial use of the subjunctive in narrative context, i.e. when (the child) was born.

<sup>5</sup> *Kulhalaka*, consecutive construction made up of the informative *ku-*, the simple stem of the verb *-hala-*, and the suffix *-ka*.

(2) R. *Kannona*<sup>1</sup> *urendo wanati*, *ee* / *uneta nuhiyu*,<sup>2</sup> *ee*.

Don't you see the safari of the uninitiated girl ? / it goes by night.

A. *Mafi*.

Water (The water of the Ruvuma River passes even by night).

The reference is here to taking the girl to the grass hut (*nikuku*) for the initiation. This usually takes place just after sunset.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Kannona*, assimilation of *m+n* < *kamnona*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nuhiyu*, conjunctive formative *ni-* used as an adverbial formative, with elision of the vowel *-i-* before *-u-*.

(3) R. *Akwile*<sup>1</sup> *pirupelo*,<sup>2</sup> *anotthatthua nikala*.

It is the dead who lie, he starts at a piece of charcoal.

A. *Wowā*.

Fear.

Explanation : *Mtu apacerie ulumia inoa, kankufya utthatthua kila nihuku*. *Cowopiha*<sup>3</sup> *cinci cihokala welaponi wā*,<sup>4</sup> *mweteke wowowetu*.<sup>5</sup>

When a person has begun to be bitten, (perhaps by) a snake, he doesn't fail to be startled every day. There are many dangerous things here on earth, walk with fear then.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Akwile*, the relative (perfect stem with relative concord) used pronominally.

<sup>2</sup> *Pirupelo*, copulative formative *pi-* with idiomatic use of applied form of the stative verb *-rupa* (sleep), final *-a* being changed to *-o*. Further examples of this idiom :

*Kiri mlitelelo* (I am waiting) < *-lita* (wait)

*Yari mwemelelo* (They were standing) < *-emela* (stand)

*Ari mkalelo* (He is seated) < *-kala* (sit, remain, be).

<sup>3</sup> *Cowopiha*, possessive pronoun derived from the verb *-wopiha* (frighten), of which the original simple stem in Makua is *wōwā* (be afraid).

<sup>4</sup> *Welaponi wā*, locative adverb followed by locative pronoun. The locative suffix *-ni* is retained. Coalescence of *a+i* > *e*, viz. *wā + ilapo + ni*.

<sup>5</sup> *Wowowetu*, idiomatic use of the word *itu* (thing) after, in this example, an adverb of manner formed with prefixal formative *wo-*. The adverbial formative is prefixed to the Class 6 noun *wōwā* (fear). Further examples of the use of *itu* to indicate "well then," "so then" :



*Haleketu* (Well then, goodbye, lit. be left!)

*Ndrweketu* (Let's go then).

The vowel *e* resulting from coalescence or elision in such examples is an open vowel.

- (4) R. *Ntengama-aka*<sup>1</sup> *oyo*, *utthana noŵira*<sup>2</sup> *uhiyu nomora*.<sup>2</sup>

That is my setting, by day it passes, at night it falls.

A. *Ncuwa*.

The sun.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Ntengama*, rare deverbative noun from *tengama* (set, of the sun). Sun-set is normally called *mātekuwa-ncuwa*, or *uwila-ncuwa*, or *utthendemana ncuwa*. Informants gave no other meaning for this.

<sup>2</sup> *Noŵira*, *nomora* : tense forms omitting the subjectival verb concord *u-*. This elision is frequent in the present and immediate past tenses (indicative mood) in Makua.

- (5) R. *Kannomwona hapa*<sup>1</sup> *mwako*, *anyaka mant'e*.<sup>2</sup>

You don't find the liver, (which is like) a hill, excreting rust.

A. *Nluku, uŵara co, poboco*.<sup>3</sup>

A stone, holding it thus, it crumbles.

The comparison here is between holding a piece of liver and a piece of earth that crumbles. They are both difficult to hold. The liver is goat's liver brought for the boys and eaten by the shepherds in the lodge. The song is meant to explain to the boys why they cannot expect to receive the liver to eat. They would not be able to hold it. The deprivation of some of the tastiest pieces is one of the trials to which the boys must submit.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Hapa*, with voiced *h*, distinguishing the word in pronunciation from the Swahili word *hapa* (here).

<sup>2</sup> *Mant'e*, syllabic *n* followed by ejective consonant *t'*. The usual word for rust in Makua is *ndrenje*.

<sup>3</sup> *Poboco*, an ideophone for crumbling or for softness. An ideophone with the same meaning is *tupucu*, e.g. *itaya yari tupucu*, the earth was soft,

i.e. it crumbled when you touched it. Derived verb, *-tupucua* (be crumbled).

- (6) R. *Mwamunaka*<sup>1</sup> *neteke ninari eli*.<sup>2</sup>

My little brother, let us walk while there are two of us.

A. *Iruŵgu*.

Shadow.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Mwamunaka*, diminutive prefix *mwa-* + noun possessive stem; may also mean "my little friend."

<sup>2</sup> *Ninari eli*, descriptive clause of time, consisting of subjectival verb concord + formative *-na-* + defective verb *-ri*, followed by the qualificative pronoun. Cf.:

*Nulumane unari ŵaŵa* (Let us speak together while you are here).

*Utukia anari anetthi* (To be tied up while he is a free-man).

*Kaneuwa anari ŵakuŵiru?* (He doesn't hear even though (while) he is near?)

- (7) R. *Itupala eyo kinakwa, nihuku no-okwa nno*.

The bonfire is not yet dead (extinguished), this is the day of death.

A. *Moro*.

Fire.

The bonfire is that prepared on the night before the circumcision and lit very early the next morning. When the fire is dying down the boys have to jump through it (*utthupa moro*). *Utthupa moro* is the common euphemism for puberty in girls. When they have jumped through the fire, food is provided, and the boys are led to the circumcision. The bonfire in the rites is called *icirangari*.

- (8) R. *Yawile nuhapua*.<sup>1</sup>

They came and drew aside.

A. *Iy gala*.

A puddle.

This is one of a number of songs with double *entendre*. The reference is here to abstaining from sexual intercourse at the time of the menses. With this compare the following song :

*Kahorumia, Mwakuŵe ndrete ŵakopela-ŵao. Wanoŵa kinopwanya moloko unacarale, ŵkakahokolea. Mi panaka*<sup>2</sup> *moloko uhocara, kawawo*

*wowira*. *Peria*,<sup>3</sup> *Mwarukule ikokoto pili, mwa-wonyeke ukopela-uwu*. *Wandreaya-ilokote*<sup>4</sup> *humanyatu ayo*<sup>5</sup> *ukopela-uwu yakihokoloferaka mi*,<sup>6</sup> *pu-ulama waka*.

I was sent. Take medicine across the river. Now I find the river full, and I returned. I thought to myself, there is nowhere to pass. It was said, Pluck two pebbles and throw them across to the other side. When those people across the river will pick them up, returning (them) to me, that is my safety.

This is explained to the candidates in the rites as follows:

*Mwaroaka utthelani, mwapwanyaka atthiyana anari areta malili, wékina ari nerukulu, mhirupane. Mweuwakaru yowira wowuverya ndrete mnoworya urupana, wottha uwe. Yerakaru wira urihakacia uwe pu-ulama winyu, wotthaca uwe.*

If you go to marry, and find the woman is ill with her periods, or perhaps with child, don't sleep together. If you hear that by drinking medicine you can sleep together, that is a lie. If they say that the miscarriage is your safety (your means for resuming sexual intercourse), that is a lie.

Compare also the following two songs:

R. *Yawile nutthea*.

They came and laughed.

A. *Mtthale*.<sup>7</sup>

Bamboo.

Referring to the sexual act accomplished.

R. *Yawile nupatakula*.

They came and uncovered.

A. *Nikurutthu*.

A butterfly. (It uncovers itself when it spreads its wings. The ritual name of a butterfly is *Mahano Anammaha*).<sup>8</sup>

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> *Nuhapua*, use of the conjunctive formative with the verb infinitive in narrative construction. Two newly circumcised boys meeting an elder must both go to one side of the path. If they separate one on either side of the path, he may ask them: *Uhapua ninno ninno, marumbo aya ifeni?* This means, To draw aside here and here, what is the meaning? The answer given

may either be: *Nikwaa*, or *Nihiye*. *Nikwaa* is the log of wood used in making the animal trap known as *namarato*, and has bamboo sticks in the ground on either side of it making a way for the animal to come into the trap. *Nihiye* is a grave, where people stand on either side. The double *entendre* may not be apparent to the boys in this example, but the connection with the song suggests that a double meaning is conveyed.

<sup>2</sup> *Mi panaka*, absolute pronoun followed by copulative formation used frequently in narrative construction. Copulative formative *pa-* + the formative *-na-* + the possessive stem. The formative *-na-* may be a deficient verb. Cf.: *panawe* (and he said, thought, did).

<sup>3</sup> *Peria*, copulative formation with passive of the verb *-ira* (do, think, say, suppose, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> *Wandreaya-ilokote*, adverbial clause of time. The uncontracted form is *wawiraleaya-ilokote*, cf. the verb perfect stem in Makua.

<sup>5</sup> *Humanyatu ayo*: *hu-* is prefixed to the plural prefix *manya-* and indicates respect. It is frequently used before proper names in Makua, and is the equivalent then of "Mr". The reference here, of course, is to the woman, and *ikokoto* stands for the medicine which the man may give her for abortion.

<sup>6</sup> *Yakihokoloferaka mi*, i.e. returning (them) to me, and means response in intercourse.

<sup>7</sup> *Mtthale*, a bamboo. The common explanation given to a European for this song is that when a bamboo is split it makes a noise like a high-pitched laugh, but the double *entende* conveyed in the use of this word is made evident by an explanation of the following song sung during the instruction given to a girl who has just reached puberty or to a woman pregnant with her first child:

*Ulika ntthale kawya*.

*Ulika yoyo tera,*

*Mkani, kuwāheni.*

This song cannot be translated satisfactorily into English without first parsing each word in the line.

*Ulika*, lit. to try, means to have intercourse with, in this context; *ntthale*, a bamboo, here



means a virulent man; *kaŵya*, an ideophone for putting a stick in a hole without finding its bottom.

*Ulika yoyo*, lit. trying this one (man); *tera*, an ideophone for clean, satisfactory. *Mkani*, verbal interjection meaning, Look here! in this context said by the man; *kuŵaheni*, subjunctive, meaning, Let me give you, i.e. Let me satisfy your sexual appetite.

The idea is that the girl may have had intercourse with a number of men, and, in the case of a pregnant girl, she is asked whether the child is the result of a normal union in the village or of intercourse in the forest. It is the clean man to whom she should look for a husband. So the translation is something like this:

Having intercourse with a man who is never satisfied,

Trying this one who is a contented lover,

(He says) Look here, let me give you (what you want).

<sup>8</sup> *Mahano Anammaha*, the wife of Mr. Giver. The fluttering or opening out of a butterfly's wings is indicative of a generous action, like someone opening his hands to give. The ideophone to describe this fluttering of a butterfly's wings is *ŵatu*.

(9) R. *Ndrindima, ndrindima*.<sup>1</sup>

Rumble, rumble.

A. *Ukukuta*.

The sound of thunder.

This song is explained as follows: *Kalai akala mwanati ncina nawe Nandrindima, winelia wawe panetania Ukukuta*.

Long ago there was an uninitiated girl whose name was Nandrindima, and her initiation rites were called *Ukukuta*. (They took place at the end of the dry season when the sound of thunder was in the air).

Note:

<sup>1</sup> *Ndrindima* is a rare ideophone to be compared with *ritima*, an ideophone with the same meaning. There is probably some story connected with this song, which I have not been able to learn. It would be taboo for an initiated person to use the ideophone *ndrindima*, for it is the ritual name for thunder.

(10) R. *Ilapo ela yoriria, ŵahamo ŵari mtthari ŵakuŵiru*.

This earth (land) is cold, there is somewhere where there is light nearby.

A. *Mtthuko*.

Light.

One explanation given is that the boys use a piece of glass or metal to make the light shine reflected from the sun. A bald man is called *mtthari* in Makua, and his shining baldness is described as bringing cold (*uriria*) to the eyes of the person who looks at him. *Mone* is the duplicated ideophone to describe a cold glare. It is abuse (*uruwana*) for a Makua boy to repeat this song to a bald man. Compare with this another initiation song: *Niŵatthoni nihanyua, nihanle mwipurye*.

The answer to this song-riddle is *ntthari*, which can mean either the roof inside a house or a bald man. In this song a bald man's head is compared to that part of the house seen from the *baraza*; the only part where the grass-thatch is visible is that at the sides. So with a bald man, on top he has no thatch, but only at the sides.

Compare also the following song from the *Nikwalu* dance:

*Mtthari nyenyu, nihoyga nyenyu,*

*Nikina mwaŵahe ahokohenyu,*

*Ilapo yaatthatha mhokura<sup>5</sup> yela.*

Bald, you! Toothless, you! One of these conditions give to your in-law, you have lived long at our maternal uncle's.

Here the reference is to a man who does not live, according to Makua custom, with his wife's people, but with his own paternal uncle. He is exhorted to go back to live with his wife's people. He has been living so long at his maternal uncle's that he is bald and toothless.

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> *Niŵatthoni*, the roof of the house above the *baraza* roof.

<sup>2</sup> *Nihanyua*, it has disappeared.

<sup>3</sup> *Nihanle*, what is left, relative, contracted form of *nihalale* or *nihalile*.

<sup>4</sup> *Mwipurye*, thatch the sides! verbal imperative 2nd pers. plur. present subjunctive.

<sup>5</sup> *Mhok.ra*, literally, you have eaten. The last line translated literally is: The country of (our) maternal uncle you have eaten that. This is a way of saying that he has been a long time there.

## 2. THE VEGETABLE WORLD :

- (1) R. *Anamwitthatthani*<sup>1</sup> *nikwaha nohintai*.<sup>2</sup>  
The pile (things on top of each other), the distance (lit. the journey) is not far.  
A. *Ikoco*.  
(Fruits of the) *ikoco* tree.

These fruits grow one on top of the other like a string of East African cents. They appear near the ground and are edible. *Anamwitthatthani* is the ritual name for them.

### Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Anamwitthatthani*, a deverbative noun derived from *witthatthaniha* (to pile one's self up on top of something else). The final syllable *-ha* is elided, a rare occurrence in Makua. The verb *witthattha* means to flip the hand.

<sup>2</sup> *Nohintai* : this word is made up of possessive concord + negative formative *-hi-* + adverb.

- (2) R. *Ntepwerea*<sup>1</sup> *umenle*<sup>2</sup> *uturani wano*.  
*Ntepwerea* which grows on the ash-heap now.  
A. *Mparika*.  
The castor-oil plant.

The explanation given by one old man of this song is that the castor-oil plant flourishes on or near an ash-heap, and that even as castor-oil is used for anointing at the crises of Makua life, e.g. at child-birth, at initiation, etc., so it should be remembered that the people who are anointed must all die and return to the dust, even as most domestic things find their way eventually to the ash-heap. Even the children who are being initiated must one day be only ashes, but at the time of their initiation the parallel is with the flourishing plant growing on the ash-heap.

### Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Ntepwerea*, the ritual name for the castor-oil plant, probably derived from an ideophone, but the exact significance of the word I have not been able to obtain.

<sup>2</sup> *Umenle*, contracted form of the relative (past indefinite) used with present time sense.

- (3) R. *Akinotukela*<sup>1</sup> *mikopwe, kinooŵa anu-mwaninyu ukiloo*.<sup>2</sup>  
I shall not unfasten my head-dress, I am afraid your mother will bewitch me.  
A. *Ikoca*.  
The *ikoca* tree.

In the girls' initiation rites (*ciputu*) each girl receives a coloured head-band made of beads, and various decorative pieces are fastened on the inside of this band giving the appearance of a coloured thorn-crown. The *ikoca* tree is thorny. The girls are forbidden to undo this head-dress until about a fortnight after coming out of the rites. As it is taken off it is forbidden for the girl to look at it; she must hand it to someone behind her. The reason for this is that it belongs to the old life to which the girl cannot return again. The head-band itself is called *ɣkuruco*.

### Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Akinotukela*, reversive verb *-tukela*, cf. *-tuka* (fasten).

<sup>2</sup> *Ukiloo*, idiomatic use of the infinitive in a subordinate sentence.

- (4) R. *Mwiri, mwiri homora, uhanle*<sup>1</sup> *piɣkululu*.<sup>2</sup>  
The tree, the tree sheds (its leaves), what is left is the trunk.  
A. *Dkunda* or *ɣkuta*.  
The Hypheane palm.

The reference here is to the unclothing of the candidates.

### Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Uhanle*, relative, contracted form of *uhalale*.

<sup>2</sup> *Piɣkululu*, copulative formation. *Dkululu* is the ritual name of the Hypheane palm; it is not used for any tree-trunk. Another name for it is *ntthoma*. A tree-trunk fallen down is *ɣkukulu*, but apart from this a live tree-trunk is called just *mwiri* (tree).

There is a Makua proverb : *Naykweli anocuwane woykuta awe*. This means, A mourner is known by his strip of the Hypheane palm. A man bereaved of his wife wears this strip round his neck until he has had ceremonial intercourse



with a female relative of his deceased wife. As a proverb the meaning is that we can only judge or know the facts from the things we see. If a man has spoilt his own case at a *baraza*, he will have shown what he is.

- (5) R. *Uttheke waaanlamu nowurya nuukuwela*.<sup>1</sup>  
The beer of my brother-in-law they drink and shout.  
A. *Ipupe*.  
The *ipupe* tree.

Small birds like bulbuls and hoopoes often congregate on an *ipupe* tree and chatter away. The purpose of this song is to teach the candidates that it is taboo to shout at a beer-drink prepared by your sister or mother, but at a brother-in-law's beer-drink you can shout as much as you like.

*Note :*

<sup>1</sup>*Nuukuwela*, conjunctive formative used with verb infinitive in narrative construction. The verb *kuwela* (shout) has lost its applied significance and is used often instead of the simple form *kuwa*. The name for the Makua, *Amakuwani*, literally means "where (are) the shouters." Dos Santos in Purchas' Pilgrims (1555) describes the Makua language as rough and high, as though the speakers were fighting.

- (6) R. *Nihanle kawo, nihanle kawo*.  
There is nothing left, nothing left.  
A. *N(d)rou*.  
Hard-rind wild orange tree.

Explained as follows: *Wakakaruaka n(d)rou*, *munthalyacakaya-mu<sup>1</sup> nowunla*. *Kuwiraka mahu-ku matthanu, karamba*.<sup>2</sup> *Marumbo aya, awereiaka mtu, atu anera, Mwaŵaheke mafi, kumwiheraka mafi, nanfo kawo*,<sup>3</sup> *ahomala ukwa*.

When (the fruits of) the *n(d)rou* expand, inside where they break up they cry out. After (about) five days, all is quiet. The meaning is, if a man is ill, people say, Give him water, and they bring him water, but he is not (there), he is already dead.

These fruits expand in the heat and split apart. The second meaning I have not been able to discover.

*Notes :*

<sup>1</sup>*Munthalyacakaya-mu*, the locative prefix used before the verb which takes the possessive stem. The locative is repeated after the verb form. This is a frequent adverbial use in Makua clauses.

<sup>2</sup>*Karamba*, ideophone for quiet, finished.

<sup>3</sup>*Kawo*, locative inflection with negative subjunctive verb concord. This is a common euphemism for death in Makua.

- (7) R. *Mmini piritthuwani<sup>1</sup> atemulie ipururu*.<sup>2</sup>  
The handle of the hoe is bent, let him be adze-ed.  
A. *Itatani yonlapa*.  
The seed of a baobab tree.

This seed is compared to a piece of wood that needs to be cut and made straight so that the piece of iron which is the hoe itself can be inserted. A baobab seed has a cleft turning in the middle of it. The parallel here is to a disobedient person, he is like a piece of wood that has to be made straight, he needs the discipline of the initiation rites.

*Notes :*

<sup>1</sup>*Piritthuwani*, from the ideophone *piritthuwa*. The use of the locative suffix with an ideophone is rare.

<sup>2</sup>*Ipuryuru*, shavings.

### 3. THE ANIMAL WORLD :

#### (a) INSECTS :

- (1) R. *Wakwile mhamwene<sup>1</sup> makuwa ari coro*.<sup>2</sup>  
Where the dead person died the bones were all together.  
A. *Moygolo*.  
A millipede.

Referring to the bones of a millipede which preserve their formation for some time after the millipede is dead. *Mhamwene* is the ritual name for the millipede.

*Notes :*

<sup>1</sup>*Mhamwene*, a name given also to the Germans of a former Government in East Africa, *mhamwene*, i.e. one who has left or abandoned a chieftainship.

<sup>2</sup>*Coro*, an ideophone for being together.

- (2) R. *Kihowona ekurumwangu nittho mwa nsene.*  
I have seen a fearsome thing, an eye as of a fearsome animal.

A. *Imanyimanyi.*  
A firefly.

- (3) R. *Icafala aka eyo, icafala aka kinakwa, ke, ke.*  
That is my *icafala*, my *icafala* is not yet dead.

A. *Irawe, or ikoropa.*  
Mortar, or a snail.

*Icafala* is a ritual name for an adulterous person. Just as a mortar may be lent from one house to another, or as a snail keeps moving from one place to another, so does an adulterous person go from place to place. The word *icafala* is not used in ordinary conversation, and my informants could not ascribe to it any other meaning.

- (4) R. *Ikoma yancunaka kire cani wowinna?*  
The drums of my friend, what shall I do to dance (to them)?

A. *Niyoyolo.*  
Carpenter bee.

"My friend" is the carpenter bee, who, when the Lima Bean (*Phaseolus lunatus*) begins to flower, buzzes round the blossom. Here the buzzing is compared to the drums of a dance, but there is a pretty little song which the Makua attribute to him as he hovers over the blossom:

*Wadi nani, nani, nani?*

*Nikangaudye,*

*Nikangaudye, Wotela, woripa, wokwila,*

*Mwenyagbara.*

The translation is:

Daughter of whom, of whom, of whom?

Don't ask me,

Don't ask me, By white, or black, or red,

Like me here.

Except for the words indicating colours, the words of this song are in the neighbouring Makonde language. The colours apply both to the blossom and to the carpenter bee.

- (5) R. *Akwile mirimani, ee; akwile mirimani.*  
He who died (it was) the stomach, *ee*; (repeat).

A. *Nyondholo.*  
Mason wasp.

Explained thus: *Ahopaca uwereia, wano upukelia nikoko, nkayatiminua*<sup>1</sup> *inoa mirimani utiminua tii.*<sup>2</sup>

He began to be ill, well, gruel was prepared, and a snake wound itself round his stomach and gripped hard.

The mason wasp has rings round its body.

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> *Nkayatiminua*, narrative tense, and the snake encircled.

<sup>2</sup> *Tii*, an ideophone for tying tightly.

- (6) R. *Loŵilo*,<sup>1</sup> *loŵilo, makura ontu.*

*Loŵilo, loŵilo*, the oil of a person.

A. *Manddha.*

A slug.

The slug leaves a trail in its path. The parallel is with a person's footprints, and *makura ontu* is the ritual mane for them.

Note:

<sup>1</sup> *Loŵilo* is an ideophone for the appearance of footprints.

- (7) R. *Ntthettherya-irimu*,<sup>1</sup> *irimu inomora, Mluku anonimala.*

Guard of the heavens, the heavens are falling, God is finishing us.

A. *Ithhalaku.*

Brown driver-ant.

It is said that as these ants travel the two outside lines stand just as if their hands were uplifted to heaven to keep the heavens from falling.

Note:

<sup>1</sup> *Ntthettherya-irimu*, a compound noun, the ritual name for the driver-ant. The verb *-tthettherya* from which this compound noun is derived has two meanings, to guard, and to add on firewood, etc. An alternative form of this compound noun is *mlitelela-irimu*.

- (8) R. *Ikoma yaNamanjiro uruma.*  
*Namanjiro's* drums sending out (their noise).

A. *Cempa.*

Countess beetle.

Compare with this song the two riddles:

R. *Ikoma yaatthitthi yowopelia utuli.*

My father's drum is beaten behind.



R. *Ikoma yaakuPetembe yowopelia utuli.*

Petembe's drum is beaten behind.

The answer is in each case the same as for the song, and the reason given is that the shrill cry of this beetle comes from its back. This beetle is edible, is about 3 ins. long, and digs itself into the sand.

(9) R. *Tthupani*<sup>1</sup> *akilumale oyo?*

Who is that who stung me?

A. *Nampittharara*, or *tthukwe*.

A kind of scorpion, or a small bug.

Compare with this another song-riddle from the rites:

R. *Mwamwali ula onderuwa ula pinerawe.*

This little girl, she is a naughty girl, that's what she is.

A. *Tthukwe*.

This is explained as follows: *Akalaka mwamwali ahokalathhi, kukelaka tthukwe, kukelaka kulumaka, erakaru urula*<sup>2</sup> *ikuwo cawe wawale miholo mvaatu, onderuwa*<sup>3</sup> *yole*.

If there is a little girl sitting down, and a little bug goes, it goes and stings her, if she takes off her clothes there before people, she is a naughty girl that one.

To teach modesty, but the effect of the song in the rites may defeat its purpose.

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> *Tthupani*, copulative formative *tthu-* before interrogative noun stem *-pani*.

<sup>2</sup> *Erakaru urula*, lit. if she does to undress. The first word is conditional tense form of the verb *-ira* (say, think, do, etc.) with coalescence of subjunctive verb concord *a-* + vowel *i* of the stem.

<sup>3</sup> *Onderuwa*, noun derived from the ideophone *nderu*, of shameful conduct.

(10) R. *Mtthitthe*<sup>1</sup> *ilimwe, mafi mwia wai?*

Pound (corn, etc) in the dry season, where do you carry (get) water?

A. *Ucefe*, also *uwefe*.

White-ants.

The work of the termites in the wall of a house is here compared to the work of pounding, but ask the Makua, where does the termite get its water in the dry season? The moisture, of course, is brought from deep down in the earth.

Note:

<sup>1</sup> *Mtthitthe*, subjunctive mood.

(11) R. *Amunahumu*<sup>1</sup> *cilie nikwaha nontai.*

My brother, let the food be eaten, it is a long journey.

A. *Icorope*.

Grasshopper.

Before the grasshopper jumps he tells his companions to make the best of that halt by eating as much as they can find. The next jump will be a long one, and the first of many.

Note:

<sup>1</sup> *Amunahumu*, male relative of chief, as distinct from *acilahumu*.

(12) R. *Ikumwakumwa*<sup>1</sup> *kimweto*,<sup>2</sup> *ihopia wari mwali, mwawelani uhinamweto?*

*Ikumwakumwa* has no legs, it has reached the initiated girl, what did you come for having no legs?

A. *Ikune*.

House-bug.

This is an action song. The girls lie on their backs on the ground in a single line, and work their way backwards, by using their elbows, to a given place. They get up and clap hands when this is done.

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> *Ikumwakumwa* is the ritual name for this kind of house-bug, and is derived from the duplicated ideophone *kumwa* descriptive of the method of progress of the bug itself, as though it had no legs. Another informant gives the name *imukamuka* with the same meaning.

<sup>2</sup> *Kimweto*, contracted from *kiri nimyeto*. Notice that the plural form *myeto* (sing. *mweto*) is often pronounced *mweto* in Makua.

(13) R. *Seta*<sup>1</sup> *maka*,<sup>2</sup> *seta maka*.

A little way to the coast (repeat).

A. *Iniya*.

A kind of locust.

Explained thus: *Ahotthama mtu mmoka mulupale nimirindi caya urwa umaka, perawe apiaka welusi mpironi kuterekeaka i ima, wano kwiriaka*,<sup>3</sup> *Lyakani, ndrwe. Kwiriaka, Mm-mm, akithuaka. Pakwileaya*<sup>4</sup> *itthala. Wano wa kutthatthuaka iniya.*

A certain great man set out with his loads to go to the coast, and so it was that when he arrived at a well in the way porridge was cooked, and it was said, Eat, let us go. And it was said (by the porters), *Mm-mm*, I don't want to. That was how they died of hunger. And they changed into *iniya* locusts.

The Natives say that this locust has no stomach and eats only the wind for his food. The name for this locust is of ideophonic origin, for they say that until the early morning this locust cries *iniya iniya*.

*Notes :*

<sup>1</sup> *Seta*, a contraction of *ufeta*, the verb infinitive with the diminutive infix *fi*, the vowel *-i-* being elided before *-e* of the simple stem *-eta* (go). This diminutive infix is used frequently with verb forms in Makua, e.g.

*ufikurya* (to visit a little)

*ufitaliwa* (to be rather long)

*ufuygevelela* (to be fairly well, lit. to be getting up for a little).

<sup>2</sup> *Maka*, contraction of the locative *umaka*, to the coast. *Maki* is an ideophone for congregating together, and so *umaka* is the place where people congregate together. *Imaka* is the language spoken at the coast, Swahili. Cf. the verb *umaka*, to congregate together.

<sup>3</sup> *Kwiriaka*, narrative form, *ku-* + passive of verb *wira* + suffix *-ka*.

<sup>4</sup> *Pakwileaya*, copulative formation, *pa-* + verb perfect of *-kwa* (die) + possessive stem *-aya*.

(b) BIRDS, GAME-ANIMALS, ETC :

(1) R. *Ncewere*<sup>1</sup> *kana mulupale*.

A leaderless village has no big man.

A. *Myololo*.

Wood hoopoes.

Descriptive of the way these birds congregate and chatter in the trees, as though they were all children without a leader. This song is meant to teach the candidates respect for the chief.

*Note :*

<sup>1</sup> *Ncewere*, a noun derived from the ideophone *cewere*, of a village without a leader. *Iwani ele yari cewere*, That village was leaderless.

(2) R. *Atthiyana ntiya ntiya*<sup>1</sup> *wofila, wofila, wofila*.

A woman smoothly seducing, by the grinding, the grinding, the grinding.

A. *Uwanda*.

A helmeted shrike.

Explained as follows: *Mtthiyana anofila numwona mtu antthananawe. Wanfilawe anera ntiya ntiya, yole mtu-le kwuluwaka*.

A woman is grinding and sees a man whom she wants. As she grinds she goes *ntiya ntiya*, and that man falls.

A loose woman is compared to the helmeted shrike, which knows no fear of people.

*Note :*

<sup>1</sup> *Ntiya ntiya*, an ideophone for smooth seduction, suggested by the way the woman continues with her grinding in such a way as to attract the man.

(3) R. *Ihipa yulupale kihena inolima, inolima ikani*.

It is not the big hoe which does the hoeing, but the small one.

A. *Kokooto*.

Woodpecker.

Explained as follows: *Cikwepe ahokala na iyano yotaliwa cinene, nanjo kanorya utemula mwiri, kokoto ari niyano mwankani pinontemula*<sup>2</sup> *mwiri*.

The grey hornbill has a long beak, but he cannot bore through a tree, the wood-pecker has a small beak, but it is he who bores through a tree.

A Makua proverb says: *Mtu mulupale ahokela na-iyano mwankani*, i.e. A big man has a small mouth. It is the quiet man who gets things done.

*Notes :*

<sup>1</sup> *Kihena*, or *kihiwena*, pronominal copulative made up of negative subjectival concords followed by defective verb *-na*.

<sup>2</sup> *Pinontemula*, copulative formation; notice the introduction of the consonant *-n-* through the influence of the first *-n-*. In Makua only nouns of Class 1 take the objectival verb concord.

(4) R. *Makwirikwiri*<sup>1</sup> *akwile wonihia*.

He died of laughing at leaving us.



A. *Kokotoo.*

Woodpecker.

This refers of course to the cry like a laugh that the woodpecker gives on finding honey or some other food in the tree, or when flying away.

Note :

<sup>1</sup> *Makwirikwiri*, noun derived from ideophone; means excessive laughter. *Anotthea nikwirikwiri*, he laughs like anything.

- (5) R. *Urendo oNamwito kwe kwe, ikoma cinomala uruma kwe kwe ehe.*

The journey of *Namwito kwe kwe*, the drums are finishing beating.

A. *Nahuwo.*

Mole.

Referring to the noise made by a mole underground.

- (6) R. *Mahano Naciro, mahiye ari wamuru.*  
*Naciro's* wife, the graves (the dead) are on her head.

A. *Ipomopo.*

The trumpeter-hornbill.

An old Makua explains this by saying that the fruit of a secret union in the forest must, if the child dies, be buried properly and not carried by the young mother on her head to be thrown away in the forest. The ritual name of the trumpeter-hornbill is *Mahano Naciro*, and the crop on the bird's head is compared to a dead child carried on the head.

Another form of this song is : *Ohiwira umahiyeni, ee.* The one who does not go (pass) to the graves. The girls are told : If you have such a dead child, see that it is buried properly.

- (7) R. *Nammirawira howira mommu.*

The flitter has passed by here.

A. *Nantthutthu.*

A small bat.

Explained thus : *Ari mtu ohuwa*,<sup>1</sup> *wano perawe*<sup>2</sup> *uwira wa uwira uwo*, anumwane *pankoha wira*, *Nammirawira ahowira wonno* ?

He (or she) was a disobedient person, well now that's how he was, passing here and passing there, his mother it was who asked, Has the flitter passed by here ?

A disobedient child who is always on the move, never doing what is expected of him, because he is never at hand to be told.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Mtu ohuwa*, lit. a not-hearing person.

<sup>2</sup> *Perawe*, copulative formation, from *pa+ira+awe*.

- (8) R. *Nitthipeli<sup>1</sup> nule.<sup>2</sup>*

Let the preparations be made for us, let us be circumcised.

A. *Kucupa.*

Hyena.

The cry of the hyena is compared here to the way this song is sung. When the hyena calls he goes *nitthipeli nule*.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Nitthipeli*, lit, let us be dug for, to dig the hole for the ceremonial *nipanda* tree. The meaning is extended to include all the preparations for the boys' rites.

<sup>2</sup> *Nule*, from *-ula* (be circumcised), but never used in referring to a person's initiation. The euphemism *-inelia* (be danced for) is used instead.

- (9) R. *Uka aka oyo naykopo, apwaa uka uho-tapwa.*

That is my gun-powder, O barbel, ah ! the powder is damp.

A. *Ntthiki.*

Wild heron.

The bird's cry is said to sound like "*uka aka oyo naykopo*," and the sound made by the barbel or fresh-water catfish resembles the remaining words of the song. Both the wild heron and the barbel play a prominent part in Makua folklore. The following story told sometimes to boys in the rites includes a highly idiomatic song. We shall include it here because of its reference to the barbel. The song is sung during the time in the lodge, but the above song-riddle is the first song sung after the burning of the lodge, when the boys have all been gathered together in one place.

*Ahokala mtu mmoka, nimtu mwanene ari mukwani. Ari ahinaye ukwa ykera, Mi wano kakwaka, mkiwitthe wancaykwini. Nihuku nakwileawe atu yahommittha wakawawe nanfo. Ufa waya panpwayaliaya mtu ule anakalatthile wamihiyeni, atu nka-*

yatthikinaca. *Nkayaŋkoha wira*, Nyenyu, mulumace, niuwelele nicuwele wira wekeyai tthinyu waŋwŋthie mcana.

(The song begins): *Nkolumani. Kulumeke ifeni?*

*Amwara-mkiŋwe parwale ulufi,*

*Ihaluma ipepele, atawela mmopeni, mope kahociŋwa.*

*Yatuna unimwarufa. Kanomwarufani?*

*Kinawya mwalo aka, kufale mandindi, utthikilela iluwo,*

*Iluwo piuluwo canampwitthikili,*

*Yarula ŋkopo, umwatela ŋkuya,*

*Dkuya hiruneke, iruneke pinacikuŋi.*

*Cikuŋi ŋkarunaka. Kiruneleke ifeni?*

*Amaka ala anawa-la. Amaka acifereni?*

*Acifere koygomano. Cumbwi. Ukela ŋwathhi.*

There was once a man and the man himself was dying. Before he died he said, As for me, when I die, bury me at an *ncaykwi* tree (a tree that puts out its leaves only in the dry season). On the day of his death people buried him elsewhere, however. Next morning they found the man sitting on his grave, and they marvelled. And they asked him saying, You here, speak, let us hear and know truly if you are he who was buried yesterday.

(The song begins, and must be explained line by line):

*Dkolumani*, speak: imperative form with formative *mka-* + *uluwa* + suffix *-ni*. *Kulumeke ifeni?* what shall I say? (says the man).

*Amwara-mkiŋwe*, the name of the man's grandmother, lit. She took him—kill me. *Parwale ulufi*, she it was who went to the well, i.e. she caused the man's death by bewitching him at a well.

*Ihaluma ipepele*, lit. a fly has bitten him, meaning here to be judged guilty of witchcraft on consultation of the divining lots. The man went to a diviner, and was told that the woman had caused his illness by bewitching him. *Atawela mmopeni*, she ran to the custard-apple trees. *Mope kahociŋwa*, the custard-apple I enjoy (it); she thought it better to run away.

*Yatuna unimwarufa*, she wanted to upset us: *-mwarufa* (scatter). *Kanomwarufani?* Why don't you upset her? (thinks the man).

*Kinawya mwalo aka*, I am looking for my knife (to kill her). *Kufale mandindi*, a bulb has taken it: *kufale*, omitting subjectival verb concord, for *akufale*. *Mandindi*, a metaphor for a youth (cf. one of the songs sung to a new chief where the same parallel is found). *Utthikilela iluwo*, to cut the *iluwo* fruit of the *mpaka* tree.

*Iluwo piuluwo*, an idiomatic use of the copulative, meaning the *iluwo* fruit was plentiful. *Canampwitthikili*, possessive use of the noun derived from the ideophone *pwitthikili*, meaning hard. The *iluwo* fruit was hard and there was much of it, so the youth would not return the knife in time for the man to kill the woman. The whole point of this song is to explain why the man was frustrated in his effort to revenge himself on the woman.

*Yarula ŋkopo*, she took a barbel out of the water. The verb *urula* usually means to take off, un-clothe. People exercising witchcraft mix some oil of the barbel with other medicines and anoint themselves so that they may not be identified in divination as exponents of black magic. So the woman does this. The barbel oil is called *itthereri*, from the ideophone *tthereri* for slipperiness. *Umwatela ŋkuya*, to beat *semsem* for (the barbel). *Dkuya* is the Yao name for *semsem*: in Makua *nanhakwa*. To beat the seeds in order to get oil for mixing with the barbel oil.

*Dkuya hiruneke*, let not the *semsem* deny, i.e. let the medicine not be the means of hiding the truth about the woman's evil. *Iruneke panickuŋi*, let the squirrel deny it (if he can). Meant to emphasise how impossible it will be for her to deny the truth. No one will speak for her.

*Amaka ala anawa-la*, these people who are coming. Here *amaka* means people congregating together, and is an example of the original use of the word that has come to be used for the Coast people, the Swahili. *Amaka acifereni?* What may the people have brought?

*Acifere koygomano*, they have brought a case, i.e. they have come together to hear the case of alleged witchcraft brought by the man against the woman. *Koygomano* is a noun (class 4) meaning debt or case, derived from the ideophone *koygomo*, of crookedness, through the



derived verb form *-kongomana* (be crooked). *Mwiri wokongomana* is a crooked tree; *nlowe nokongomana* is a difficult word (it is crooked). *Cumbwi*, an ideophone for plop! throwing something in the water it goes *cumbwi*. Here it is meant to indicate that the man's case could not be substantiated, it fell flat. *Ukela watthi*, to go under. The case failed because, it is said, the woman had protected herself by the use of *itthereri*, the barbel oil.

- (10) R. *Ndrupa<sup>1</sup> wanakwatthapa<sup>2</sup> kunotutia ni-mwene.*

The hard skin-bag was not rubbed hard by the chief.

A. *Kapa.*

Tortoise.

A skin-bag is rubbed to make the surface soft. Here the meaning is obvious.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Ndrupa*, pl. *mirupa*. The plural word means skin-bellows. A *d*-sound is interposed between the consonants *n* and *r* in Makua, to sound as *ndr*.

<sup>2</sup> *Wanakwatthapa*, again a possessive derived from the ideophone *kwatthapa*, of hardness.

- (11) R. *Ntirya ntirya mwanaka ahola.<sup>1</sup>*

*Ntirya, ntirya*, my child is circumcised.

A. *Ikuluwe.*

Wild-pig.

*Ntirya* is the ritual name for wild-pig, and is an ideophone for the noise it makes in rooting about looking for food. So the father will look about for food for his boy.

Note :

<sup>1</sup> *Ahola*, coalescence here from *a-ho-ula*.

- (12) R. *Mtuwiri mnopa ikara.*

The round thing, you make a pad.

A. *Ikuka.*

Python.

*Mtuwiri* is the ritual name for the python, and is not used in normal conversation. *Ikara* is the grass pad worn by porters, sometimes made also of a cloth wound round and round.

- (13) R. *Mombore, Mombore, nikuwa nihokaama.*

*Mombore, Mombore*, a bone has stuck (in my throat).

A. *Karamu.*

A lion.

*Mombore* is said to be the lion's brother, and is the ritual name for a lion. The roar of a lion is represented by the words "*nikuwa nihokaama*."

- (14) R. *Kinolya ipepe nuurera waka.*

I eat mud (but remember) my beauty.

A. *Nancari.*

Very small fish like whitebait (Swahili, *dagaa*).

Explained thus : *Mtu nokala narerile warakawe kinocuwanea. Ahohiwararu, anolya combone.*

If a person is good what he wears isn't known (i.e. does not count). Even though he does not wear (fine clothes) he eats good things (i.e. he is clean inwardly).

This kind of fish is found on the mud at the side of the water at certain times of the day, and the people say it eats mud. It is white and beautiful in appearance in spite of this. This song is sung before the boys eat. Even though they may not get choice food (sometimes sand is put in their porridge) they must be good like this little fish.

- (15) R. *Matumanepo<sup>1</sup> manyi we cicale,<sup>2</sup> amwali matumanepo.<sup>1</sup>*

The tattooers, O mother, like that ; O girl, the tattooers.

A. *Iyoto.*

Monitor lizard.

The lizard's skin is compared to the human skin with tribal incisions. This song from the girls' rites gives the ritual name for the monitor lizard, *matumanepo*.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Matumanepo*, a compound noun, from a combination of the verb *-tuma* (tattoo) and the noun *inepo* (tribal markings), with plural prefix *ma-* (sing. *a-*). The lizard's markings are described as *inepo kwirr*. *Kwirr* is an ideophone.

<sup>2</sup> *Cicale*, an adverb.

- (16) R. *Miruku cawe, ee, (repeat).*

His intelligence, ee, (repeat).

A. *Akole.*

Apes.

For this song-riddle the only explanation received is that *miruku cawe* is the ritual name for apes.

(17) R. *Mwana oNluku kanonea*.

The red insect called (God's child) does not appear.

A. *Nandriya*.

Chameleon.

In the rains there is a bright red insect to be seen on the paths and in the fields. In the dry season it does not appear. It does not change colour like the chameleon. *Mwana oNluku* is the ritual name for the chameleon.

(18) R. *Neninne<sup>1</sup> neninne, salakela, ikereca<sup>2</sup> inorwa, inokela unatiwira<sup>3</sup>; kwiria, Inama yani?*

Who is that? Who is that? *salakela*, the spots are going, they are going into hiding; it is said, What animal is that?

A. *Hawara*.

Leopard.

Told me by a chief. He said it is as though the honey-bird is asking the first question. *Salakela* is the leopard, the ritual name. The honey-bird is *firei*.

Notes:

<sup>1</sup> *Neninne*, ideophone of the honey-bird's cry.

<sup>2</sup> *Ikereca*, spots, idiomatic use of the singular.

<sup>3</sup> *Natiwira*, hiding-place.

(19) R. *Mcewere-uwalala norela watthi*.

The clever one without a leader lays eggs on the ground.

A. *Ikaka*.

Wild guinea-fowl.

Here we have the same nominal use of the ideophone *cewere* explained in 3(b), 1, forming with the noun *uwalala* (Class 5, sharp intelligence) a compound noun, which is the ritual name for a guinea-fowl. This bird lays its eggs on the ground in spite of being a high flier.

(20) R. *Amwali wetakaca ahoreiya njilo*.

The girl goes about, she has received a load on her head of a grinding-stone.

A. *Niwiriri*.

A kind of white snake.

The reference here is to a girl who goes about by night and eventually conceives a child by an unknown father. She was bitten by a white snake, referring to the intercourse.

(21) We include here this riddle story told to the boys sometimes in the rites:

*Arwa atu eli umaka umafeygoni, mtu ninlamu awe. Yapangaka mafengo ale mmoka nkatthuma ikuwo yopila,<sup>1</sup> mkina nkatthuma ikuwo yohipila. Pahokolenleaya umaka uwo ipiro-iriyari ykayeria, Ndrwe nitthapule ikuwo ceoyo nimwone utthumile yombone. Dkatthapulaca. Mmoka ole kukotaka. Wanowa kwonaka ikuwo imoka yopila ele, ykamwiwa mtwanawe. Ipome ele ykayaththua ykayakela unthakuruni, ykayaththua. Mwanunini yole?*

Two men went to the coast to work, a man and his brother-in-law. When they had done their work one of them bought a coloured cloth, the other bought a plain cloth. When they returned from the coast, half way, they said, Let us undo those cloths to see who bought the good one (the better one). And they undid (their loads). One of them refused. Now when he saw that one coloured cloth, he killed his companion. The blood spread and went into a leaf, and it changed into a bird. What bird is that?

The answer given to me was *Mkaligambe*, but this is the Yao for "He who was sorry for himself," and is part of a Yao song attributed to the bird mentioned in the story. The actual name of the bird in Makua none of my informants seemed to know. It can be taken to be some red bird common to S. Tanganyika.

Note:

<sup>1</sup> *Ikuwo yopila*, described as a cloth which, if you look at it, it appears to nod (*hicila*).

(c) DOMESTIC ANIMALS, ETC:

(1) R. *Kururuku-ntiye, ihomarua*.

*Kururuku-ntiye*, it has broken down.

A. *Ikunda*.

Pigeons.

This is descriptive of the sudden downward and upward flight of pigeons. *Kururuku-ntiye* is said to be the noise they make as they swoop down and away. *Ihomarua*, the formation is broken.



Compare another riddle-song with the same answer :

*Mamyanlapa akumile ipiro yoMeto.*

Explained thus : *Atu yahorwaka uMeto. Waho-kolenleaya mpironimmo yakayapwanya ikunda cinakorone moirini, yakawonyera maluku, ykayabara ikunda iye.*

Baobab trees, he came from the road to Meto.

Explanation : People went to Meto. When they returned, in the way they met pigeons resting in a tree, and they threw stones at them, and took those pigeons.

- (2) R. *Kirupe vâwâ, kinlate mmera.*

Let me lie down here, let me imitate a promiscuous person.

A. *Mwalapwa.*

A dog.

*Mmera* is described as a person careless of where he sleeps. A dog sleeps anywhere. The purpose of the song is meant to be to teach the candidates to sleep at home, not to wander about at night and get into bad habits.

- (3) R. *Inama coMeto inyaka ciri metoni.*

The animals of Meto, the horns are on their feet.

A. *Ntthupi.*

Cockerel.

Referring to the kind of spur behind the foot of a cock, and compared to fastenings round the ankle worn in an initiation dance called *tthotthonttho*.

- (4) R. *Naburudani inupa awe kaykweca.*

*Naburudani* does not sweep his house.

A. *Ilaku.*

A chicken.

*Naburudani* is the ritual name given to the chicken.

#### 4. CROPS, FOOD, ETC. :

- (1) R. *Uwani carumani ?<sup>1</sup>*

In the village what news ?

A. *Matthapa orupa.<sup>2</sup>*

Relish left over from the evening meal.

Only grown-up people (initiated) may eat the relish left over from the previous evening meal. The fact that people are talking about this relish

implies that some child has eaten what is forbidden. This is a way of saying that someone, not necessarily a child, has committed an offence, and the offence is the talk of the village.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Carumani*, verb form with the interrogative suffix *-ni*. The verb is *ruma* (sound forth, reverberate). *Nloûe nani ninoruma uwanyu ?* What word is sounding forth at your home ? This is a common way of asking for news. What is the news at your home ?

<sup>2</sup> *Matthapa orupa*, relish of sleeping, i.e. the relish of the meal before sleep.

- (2) R. *Mkuygure kunantuwa, ntuwa naya nipele erukulu ntthu. Uyaria mwana, ula orapa, ula wokuca.*

*Mkuygure* has no flower, its flower is a teat, a big abdomen. Bearing a child, this one to bath, this one by washing.

A. *Mfirimaŋga.*

A native cucumber.

This cucumber is said to have no blossom. Its only flower is the teat-like apex of the fruit, and the rounded shape of the body of the cucumber is compared to the female abdomen. The child is the younger cucumber, but the significance of the washing and bathing I have not been able to ascertain. *Mkuygure* is the ritual name of the cucumber.

There is a Makua proverb : *Mfiri unokwa wola-withia*. The cucumber dies by tasting it. This was said to a Christian couple who had begun to live together before being married in church.

- (3) R. *Afana aka ayo, ahale alelieke rata.*

Those are my children, let them stay behind and be brought up nicely.

A. *Ncuku.*

Pumpkin.

Referring to the way the pumpkin grows. It is as if the pumpkin on the main stem addresses the fruit behind it growing on the secondary offshoots of the main stem as its children.

- (4) R. *Ikoma yaMwambira, yaMwambira, kawo, akunelie nimikawo.*

The dance of *Mwambira*, of *Mwambira*, he is not there, let him be covered with ladles.

A. *Inika*.

Bananas.

Explained thus: *Ukalawaya yatthikiliaka wātthi, kuwuluwaka mwiri woykyai wamoka nimkoyga aya.*

Because if it is cut beneath the whole tree falls with its trunk.

This needs further explanation. My informants say that the reference here is really to a pregnant woman who dies before giving birth to her child. Bananas are not cut off the tree separately, but with the whole of that part of the trunk where the fruit is growing. So too when a pregnant woman dies, the child in her womb dies with her. *Mwambira* is the ritual name given to a woman dying in such circumstances. *Kawo*, lit. she is not, i.e. she is dead. It is as though she had been covered with a ladle, the child was not born. *Ikoma yaMwambira* is the ritual name for bananas.

(5) R. *Amwali ahowuluwāla, aneta nintonto.*

The girl has grown old, she walks with a staff.

A. *Uyulu, or ureyka.*

A mushroom.

The stem of the mushroom is compared to a staff.

## 5. THE HUMAN BODY AND ITS FUNCTIONS:

(1) R. *Ewāle yomwako yatthamaka kinowa ttho.*  
The *ewāle* bce of the hill, if it departs it does not come again.A. *Nittho nopwea.*

A blind eye (lit. a broken eye).

*Ewāle* is a kind of honey-making insect which appears from underground, and once it has come forth does not return to the same hole in the ground again. The finality of the circumcision is implied here. Once it is done with, it is finished for ever. If a man's eye is broken, well, that's the end of it. Another form of this song is:

R. *Amirao omwako etthamaka kanowa ttho.*

The boys of the hill, if they depart they do not come again. These are the candidates in the lodge. They do not return again once they have been through the rites.

(2) R. *Mtthupi kuwari mirenga,<sup>1</sup> campinuwile imbinu.*

The cock was not tails-up, (its) back was raised up.

A. *Irukulu.*

Pregnancy.

Referring to the concave back of the cock. The shape is the reverse in human pregnancy.

Note:

<sup>1</sup> *Kuwari mirenga*, lit. was not tails. The word *ndrenga*, pl. *mirenga*, is used of the tail-feathers of a bird. The word for tail is *mwila*, pl. *mila*.

(3) R. *Ukuco oNaykanga inama cinomala utthupa.*

The animals are jumping over *Naykanga's* fence.

A. *Irori.*

Beard.

When a bearded man eats, his hand passes over his beard in order to put food into his mouth.

(4) R. *Kawira waakwaka uwanyaya kummiria.*

I went to my friend's, but his home is not passable.

A. *Menttho.*

Eyes.

The eyes can reach where the body cannot pass. Compare:

R. *Namparawara utapa wikonde.*

The swift rejoices in the air.

The answer is the same. Just as a bird has unlimited space to enjoy itself in the air, so too the eyes can dwell upon a distant view.

Compare again:

R. *Utapa wIponte.*To rejoice at *Iponte*.

The answer is again the same, and means that a man looking across the Ruvuma to the hill called *Iponte* in P.E.A. has pleasure in letting his eyes rest on the distant hill. The common European idea that a view means nothing to an African is repudiated here, although the emphasis in the Makua mind is apparently more on the marvel of the eye than on the actual beauty of the scene.



- (5) R. *Ndrupa-mwareite kunocara.*

A small bag made of the skin of the shrew does not fill.

A. *Nyaru.*

The ear.

Even though this kind of bag may be full it bears the appearance of not being full at all. So the human ear can take in endless sounds "without being full."

- (6) R. *Mwakuwo mwakuperumbe<sup>1</sup>, mwamwaraka kanohimanya.*

A little cloth like finger-flesh, if you wear it, it does not meet.

A. *Ihattha.*

Finger-nail.

The flesh of the top joint of the finger does not go right round the finger because of the finger-nail.

Note :

<sup>1</sup> *Mwakuperumbe* : *mwa* is adverbial. In *mwa-kwwo*, *mwa-* is diminutive, and in *mwamwaraka*, *mwa-* is subjectival verb concord + formative -a-.

- (7) R. *Ikwerewere yampironi kinopica ulama mtu.*

Sickness on the way (to ease one's self) does not delay a man from being cured.

A. *Maŵi.*

Faeces.

Referring to the circumcision. The temporary illness is meant for the eventual benefit of the candidate.

- (8) R. *Utthupini wakenleaka niŵaka nihokihoma.*

In the forest where I went a spear pierced me.

A. *Miyonjo.*

Urine.

Referring to the circumcision operation.

## 6. DOMESTIC LIFE, ETC. :

- (1) R. *Ilapo ndrwe nitthame nihie Kwatame.*

The earth, come let us leave it, let us depart, let us leave Kwatame.

A. *Itura.*

Ash-heap.

The boys are secluded from the village during their time in the lodge. They must leave everything, even the ash-heap, which always indicates the presence, past or present, of people. *Kwatame*, is a Yao phrase meaning Come, let us dwell, *Kwa tame*. It is here the ritual name for the ash-heap.

- (2) R. *Namwiruru enyu ee, namwiruru ula.*

You procrastinators, this is a procrastinator.

A. *Itura.*

Ash-heap.

Explained thus : *Tthoko ilapo mahuku okoto atu anotawa, nanfo itura kinokopowa utawa, atu kurwacaka. Akina kucerewaka urumelela nlowe nontunanaya nowira wopiha uhamo ndrwe nitthame. Kalai manyatu ayo yahehania anamwiruru, ukalawayaya itura yakala na-iruru.*

Like a country in days of war, people run away, but an ash-heap is not able to run away, the people go. Some delay to respond to the word of their friend that there is danger : Let us go, let us run away. Long ago those people were called *Anamwiruru*, because the ash-heap had *iruru* (slowness).

- (3) R. *Kahoriria inupa yaamanyi konaka, wannahimia uriria mahiyeni kukela.*

I was cold looking at my mother's house, even though it is said to be cold (all) go into the graves.

A. *Nfati.*

Grave-house.

The grave-house is called "my mother's house." Another form of this song-riddle is :

R. *Ipula inokirupa, inupa yaatthattha konaka.*

The rain falls on me, seeing my maternal uncle's house.

Explained thus : *Ukalawayaya kamo, inarupa ipula itimakelaka nihiyeni.* Because he is dead, the rain falls on him, running (the rain) to the grave.

Once you are dead, whether it rains won't make any difference, even though a grave-house is built over your head.

- (4) R. *Mwali comwiko kwe kwe, mwali comwiko mhilye.*

A young girl, things that are taboo, *kwe kwe*,  
a young girl, don't eat things that are taboo.

A. *Umuci*.

Blood-relationship.

Don't sleep with your own sister ; commit no incest.

- (5) R. *Mtthiyana nikwerekwere*,<sup>1</sup> *arendre*<sup>2</sup> *wene*,<sup>3</sup> *maana kamo, mdrima*<sup>4</sup> *ole uhia uhia*.

A faithless woman, let her be beautiful in vain, because she is not (in the number of decent women), that desire leave it.

A. *Mtthiyana olawalaŵa*.

An adulterous woman.

Explained thus : *Mtthiyana ayaraka mwana, ŵano kwetaka pufyaru*,<sup>5</sup> *mwana kukwaka. Mtthiyana ole kamo utthiyanani tthoththoni*. If a woman bears a child, and goes about loosely, the child dies. That woman is not in womanhood again, (i.e. she has lost her right to be respected as a decent woman.)

The purpose of this *Ciputu* song-riddle is to teach the girls the importance of the taboo of continence during the infancy of the child. According to Makua custom, it is taboo for the parents to have intercourse until the child begins to walk.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Nikwerekwere*, from the ideophone *kwere* of fickleness. There is a bird called *nikwerekwere* in Makua, Hildebrand's Francolin.

<sup>2</sup> *Arendre*, contracted form of *arerile*.

<sup>3</sup> *Wene*, ideophone for in vain.

<sup>4</sup> *Mdrima*, pl. *mirima*, heart, spirit, desire.

<sup>5</sup> *Pufyaru*, adverb *pufya* with intensive enclitic *-ru*, entirely.

- (6) R. *Icuŵe yomwainanoni inandrera*<sup>1</sup> *kakinunthaka*.<sup>2</sup>

The sweet stalk of millet within the boundary however sweet I shan't break it.

A. *Umuci*.

Blood-relationship.

Against incest.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Inandrera* for *inanrera*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kakinunthaka*, the verb simple stem is *-unttha*.

- (7) R. *Ikonya ihawara, ee*, (repeat).

The crocodile has seized them, *ee*, (repeat).

A. *Otukia*.<sup>1</sup>

Prisoners.

The ritual name for forced labourers under the German Government is *Ikonya-ihawara*.

Note :

<sup>1</sup> *Otukia*, qualificative pronoun formed from the possessive *a-* + the verbal noun *utukia*, with coalescence of *a+u>o*.

- (8) R. *Walocwele*<sup>1</sup> *ntotwe, ee*, (repeat).

What the jumping-shrew was stupid about, *ee*, (repeat).

A. *Mtthiyana*.

A woman.

Explained thus : *Alopwana pungwile*<sup>2</sup> *kukumaka kuŵira etakacaka ; apwanyaka atthiyana kulumanaka kukumihaka arupia kwaŵahaka*<sup>3</sup> *kuhalaka watthela*.

A man gets up and goes out and walks about ; when he meets a woman they speak together and he brings out money and gives her, and what remains is to marry her.

The foolishness of prostitution.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Walocwele*, an idiomatic form of the verb perfect, for *walocwenle* or *walocwelile* or *walocwelale*. The simple stem is *-locwa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Pungwile*, copulative formation with copulative formative *pi-* + verb *-yngwa* with perfect stem ending.

<sup>3</sup> *Kwaŵahaka*, an example of the use of the objectival verb concord in the narrative formation with prefix *ku-* and suffix *ka-*. The 3rd pers. pl. *-a-* is used for the objectival v. concord as honorific plural, and so also in *watthela*, in which the *-a-* is infixed between the infinitive prefix *u-* and the simple verb stem, the vowel *u-* becoming *w-* before another vowel.

- (9) R. *Ntemura, mkiŵahe mafi*.

A real man, give me water.

A. *Mtthiyana ohimwokola owanyaya*.

A woman who does not refresh her husband.

Explained thus : *Nlopwana nakumile umatani, ammahe mafi tthoko, pintunenyu wopana mwaha*.

A man come out of the *shamba*, let her give him water first, then you will converse.

Attend to your husband's wants.

(10) R. *Mkukurya, inupa yaamanyi.*

Nosey-parker, the house of my mother.

A. *Mwana owiya.*

A dishonest child.

Explained thus: *Anumwane akalaka waththe, mwana oyo kukelaka mpani nuwiya eiye capeiye iye.*

If his mother is outside, that child goes into the house and steals the things that have been cooked.

Don't steal. *Mkukurya* is a name for a boy who is always nosing round, uncovering dishes and pots to see what he can get. The ideophone is *kukurya*, of snooping.

(11) R. *Tthiwiliwili<sup>1</sup> mwapu<sup>2</sup> unowya.*

Gadding about, the pot is burnt.

A. *Mtthiyana olawalaŵa.*

An adulterous woman.

She is in a hurry to be gadding about, and scorches her pots.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Tthiwiliwili*, an ideophone for gadding about.

<sup>2</sup> *Mwapu*, earthenware pot for water. The reference here is to pottery.

(12) R. *Amwali uwanuhu kanoŵira, anowoŵa mkunyumumbwe.*

The young girl does not pass our home, she is afraid of *mkunyumumbwe*.

A. *Itthala.*

Hunger.

*Mkunyumumbwe* is the ritual name for hunger or famine.

(13) R. *Nimwamwa mwa mwa.*

A. Explained thus: *Marumbo aya, itthumi. Mwa, marumbo aya urupa ikalakattha. Mwona-karu cicammo mhikele mwantune, mpacere tthoko umtuna mtthiyana oyo.*

Its meaning, the labia minora. *Mwa*, its meaning is, to lie flat on the back. If you find it thus (a woman on her back) don't attempt her, begin first to love her.

Commit no assault.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Nimwamwa*, the ritual name for the labia minora.

<sup>2</sup> *Mwa*, an ideophone for lying on the back. Compare the quadrisyllabic ideophone *kalakattha*, with the same meaning.

(14) R. *To<sup>1</sup> to panantoro<sup>2</sup>.*

A. Explained thus: *Marumbo aya, mtthiyana oyaraca pito, mwakelaka mwanrupaatthanaka anokotolani ulopwana winyu.*

Its meaning (is), a very fertile woman is *to*, if you sleep with her at her pleasure she will deprive you of your manhood.

A youth should not make a union with a woman who has had a number of children, but marry someone of his own age-grade.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *To*, an ideophone, of sucking, depriving, drawing out. The same ideophone is used in another sense, *mpika ilelo to*, right up to today, it emphasises present time, this very moment.

<sup>2</sup> *Nantoro*, a noun derived from the ideophone *to*, and means here a woman with exaggerated sexual urge.

(15) R. *Nimkole<sup>1</sup> ipwere<sup>2</sup> ke ke.*

A. Explained thus: *Mwakelaka mwanpwa-nyaka mtthiyana wohitengua, mhikele mwanlipihe cinene. Unyepa urwe mnokontemula.*

If you go in (to a house) and find an immature woman, do not force her. The sexual act will pierce her (womb).

It is not uncommon for Makua men to live with girls who have not yet pubertized.

Notes :

<sup>1</sup> *Nimkole*, 1st pers. present subjunctive: the verb is *-kola* (treat gently).

<sup>2</sup> *Ipwere*, vagina of immature girl; vagina of mature woman is called *nipwentthere*.

## 7. UTENSILS, AND OTHER OBJECTS :

(1) R. *Nnati nikorokoco anolya enemenle.*

A naughty girl eats standing up.

A. *Irawe.*

Mortar.



Explained to me as admonition to a girl who is using a mortar in pounding food, not to be picking food as she prepares it. Informants insist that there is no second meaning.

- (2) R. *Mkaneleke kinowuererihani.*

Hang up for me I will make you beautiful.

A. *Nimeto.*

Razor-knife.

Referring to the custom of hanging up the razor in a place where it will be smoked to prevent rust.

*Nihuku nowotia makura nimeto nikufie kuwule-liaka ahikie ole.*

On the day of the anointing, let the razor be carried and the anointed one shaved.

- (3) R. *Ipula pirupeke, nikwata naka niwole.*

Let the rain fall, and my sore heal.

A. *Mnyate.*

A crack.

According to informants, referring to the way cracks disappear with the rain and the path is smoothed out.

- (4) R. *Mferenje utthana kwimmaka uhiyu ku-moraka.*

The *mferenje* tree blossoms in the day-time and sheds its blossom at night.

A. *Ikuwo.*

Clothes.

Clothes worn by day and taken off at night.

# THE CREATION MYTH AMONGST THE LALA OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

By J. T. MUNDAY

## *Lesa the Creator*

The Lala are a tribe of Central Bantu living on the Northern Plateau of N. Rhodesia, they believe in a being called Lesa (*Lēsa*), and that it was he who created the world. Most of the Lala are unable to trace their ancestry beyond three or four generations, and believe that the creation took place at no very distant date. An evangelist was heard telling his class that the trees outside his school were not created by Lesa, as they had supposed, but had grown from seeds; he had been reading an English book on Nature-study. Lesa is thought of as a male, who has had a wife and children of his own, and as of great age; for although the creation may not have happened more than half a dozen generations ago, Lesa ages like mankind, though more slowly, and is now probably senile, taking no more interest in his creation than a very aged chief, who has lost his powers, does in his chieftainship.

There seem to be no myths of the creation of the heaven and earth as a whole, but there is one dealing with the origin of Lesa himself, and several concerned with details of his creating work. The following myth was told by a very aged man and is one not generally known by the younger generation:

"There was a woman who had one breast with which to suckle two children; again this was the woman who caused the human race to multiply in this world. From her were born two children, Mushili, a woman, who was married to Lesa, her brother. She who sent Lesa to marry his sister was the one who had one breast, their mother."

It must not be supposed that there is any clear-cut theology amongst the Lala, and although this story of Lesa's birth is fairly widely known, he is commonly thought of as having existed "for endless days." One myth concerned with a detail of Lesa's creating work deals with his

kindly thought in providing animals with tails; in it he is spoken of as "The mother of all beasts" (*nyina wānama syōnse*), as might be expected in a matrilineal community where the name of a man's grandfather is often not remembered. The myth is called *Amatapo*, that trait which causes a young man, when called to receive something, to send a youngster to get it; a very common trait, but one which is rebuked (as in this myth) by the best parents.

"Long ago there was Lesa, the 'mother' of all beasts. He sent a message to the whole animal world to tell them to come and receive tails for driving away flies; until then they had no tails. All the animals and mice went and got tails except the shrew mice and the coney who said 'We are not going, let somebody who is going get some to fit us.' All the animals got tails, but the coney got quite tired of peering to see if someone had brought theirs, and began to say 'Perhaps they have not yet found ones to suit us, surely someone will bring them for us.' At that the shrew mice went off at full speed and found the tails were all used up, only stumps were left; so they took them.

"Then the coney went and found not even a vestige was left, and asked 'What about me, father and mother, which is my tail?' But he said, 'There isn't one left, they are finished; why didn't you come when the rest came?' The coney said 'Why will not you put one on me?' He said 'It is just *amatapo*, hit them someone, let them be off.' So the coney went off in a rage to a thicket, and there they are still to-day, without tails."

Other myths tell of Lesa's rule over his creation and his ordering of things as they are. One such tells of how Dog was discontented with his lot; how although he helped Man to hunt game, he was just thrown food on the ground and was not allowed to share his master's food from the eating-

basket. He went off with his complaint to Lesa, and on his way met other discontented animals; Elephant was discontented because she only had one child at a birth, Lion because he had to eat his meat raw, and so on. They all arrived at Lesa's village, and were listened to with sympathy, until Wagtail came and gave the game away; he pointed out that Dog ate human excrement and so was not fit to eat with Man, whilst if Elephant increased rapidly, no one else would be able to live on the earth, because everything would be trampled down, and as for Lion, if he could use fire, he would set light to men's huts and kill them all. Because of Wagtail's service to Man in speaking up before Lesa, he is never killed, but is allowed to hop about the village of Man unmolested.

*Lesa, the Royal Chief of the Sky*

Lesa is thought of as living in the sky, and is chiefly spoken of in connection with rain and the phenomena which accompany rain. As the dry weather comes to an end, and banks of black cloud pile up in the sultry weather, they say "*Lēsa āpīsyā*" (Lesa is ripe). As the lightning (*akampesi-mpesi*) flashes, they say "*Lēsa āwīyata*" (Lesa has flashed), and, listening to the following thunder they say "*Lēsa āwīyola*" (Lesa has belched); the long rumbles of thunder before the storm are Lesa's angry words. Although it is usual to say "*imfula yāloka*" (the rain has pattered down), they often say "*Lēsa āloka*" (Lesa has pattered down), and, after a night of heavy rain they will say "*Lēsa ālowōla*" (Lesa has poured down).

In spite of such phrases as those above, in times of drought, offerings are not usually made to Lesa, but either to spirits of chiefs where their bodies were laid to rot before burial, or to the spirits of famous commoners at their graves.

The name Lesa is given to several common objects; the newly-opened head of kafir-corn is known as Lesa's knobkerry, brood-comb in a hive is called Lesa's little baskets, and the rings from the dead bodies of a species of large millepede are called Lesa's wife's ivory bracelets. It is quite a common thing for a boy or girl to choose the name Lesa as their "Praise Name."

Death and disease are regarded as being caused by witchcraft, demons, or offended spirits, and a diviner is always resorted to, in order to find out which it is that has brought them. Only in the case of infants or the aged is "natural cause" regarded as being the cause of death, and Lesa will be spoken of as the bringer. In the case of epidemics and great disasters to a number of persons, it will be generally supposed that Lesa is the cause. Those whose death is supposed to have been caused because they have broken some taboo are usually spoken of as having been killed by their conduct and not by Lesa; a man who copulates with a woman of his own clan, an act which is taboo, and remains in health, will be regarded with wonder, the old will shake their heads and say "In olden times he would have come out in a rash and died the same night; his death would have come from his clanswoman." Dr. Doke says that the neighbouring Lamba believe leprosy to be caused by Lesa; the Lala believe that if a leper dies, a fellow clansman who helps to bury him will become a leper, therefore they pay men of other clans to do this. In connection with one special disease the creator is supposed to have been the cause; when in the nineteenth century the rinderpest killed much of the game, Mulenga was said to have caused it—Mulenga means creator and is sometimes used as another name for Lesa. Lesa's name is invoked in curses, and oaths such as *Lesa andye* (May Lesa destroy me) are heard.

Although great and impressive works of nature will be spoken of as special works of Lesa, there seems to be no idea of special greatness connected with him. It is true that such phrases as *Lēsa pakupāta wōnse nwe-nwe* (Lesa has roared, let all fall flat) will be used when an extra loud clap of thunder is heard, but there is no sign of any appreciation of the numinous when he is named. It is said that *icēnswa* (the bristling of the hair on the back of one's neck) is only used of feelings inspired by "things which bring evil on mankind, demons and fierce beasts." As one informer put it, "In his sphere Lesa is similar to a royal chief of a tribe, but very aged." Being aged Lesa can easily be deceived, but he is still chief of the sky.



Although a hunter will sacrifice for success to spirits chiefly, often singing all night to the accompaniment of a gourd-drum to the honour of spirits before a hunting expedition, the ordinary man may offer flour to Lesa "that he may find the veld full of game." In this case a tree is cut down waist high and the flour placed on the top of the stump; at the same time, "lest she should be jealous," another offering is made on the ground below to Mushili, the sister-wife of Lesa.

*Mushili, the Royal Chieftainess of the Earth*

As has been said above, Lesa is thought to have had a sister, Mushili, whom he married. All the members of the Ruling Clan (the *Nyēndwa*<sup>1</sup> Clan), male and female, are known as *infumu* (chief); so Mushili, the sister of the Heavenly Chief, Lesa, is known as royal, and usually her royalty is expressly stated and she is called Mushili-mfumu. Mushili is the common word for "earth" in the sense of what is cultivated; one looks for a place where the *umusili* is good before one opens up new lands. This Mushili-mfumu is a very shadowy figure who appears in some favourite stories which are about young men who follow wounded game on the veld, and find it has disappeared down a hole in the ground; they are said to follow it and to find a village "just like a village of humans;" there they will be well entertained and fed by Mushili's people, they will be given the beast they were following, and allowed to return to the surface of the earth as long as they do not season their porridge with a "relish" of flies which will be offered to them. One middle-aged man is known to us who fell down an ant-eater's hole and says he saw the village down a tunnel, but climbed up the hole as fast as he could for fright; he is generally thought to be rather a liar.

Although, in times of scarcity of rain, offerings will usually be made to spirits, there is what may be a magic, practised by village groups on the outskirts of their own villages, in which the name of Lesa's wife is mentioned. The women, the old folk, and the children, take wooden pestles

which are used for pounding grain, or stout sticks of similar appearance, and go to the edge of the village; here they pound the soil with their sticks, singing:

"Let us pound the rock,  
May the rain come, woo:  
May the rain come,  
God's wife, give us water,  
May the rain come."

Another version of the song has "The chief himself has died" in the place of the order to God's wife. Yet another version uses the words "Nyambi's wife, give us water." The name Nyambi is supposed to be another name for Lesa, but I have only heard it used in this song and in the phrase "*Nyambi ālowōla*" instead of "*Lēsa ālowōla*" as given above.

To return to the myth of Lesa's birth given at the beginning of the article, the story ends with the death of Lesa's sister, Mushili.

"Now one day Mushili, Lesa's wife, died when Lesa was away; he had gone to get wisdom from So-and-so. When he came back he found that his wife was dead, and that they had buried her; so he said to them, 'You have done wrong in that you have buried my wife when I was not here; that is why all people will die and be buried, because you have buried my clanswoman.'

"When Lesa saw how his wife had died, he went himself to Mushili-mfumu's, because there lived there Chaalula (Changer), Chaabala (Starter), and Chintu-mukanyo-kufwa (Thing-which-prevents-death). But the palaver could not be changed. Lesa tried to ask Chintu for something to prevent death, but he refused saying 'The true word will come from a Chaalula.'

Mushili-mfumu is said to have been the first ancestress of the *Nyēndwa* Clan, the Ruling Clan of the Lalas; some traditions of the Clan were given in *Bantu Studies* for December 1940. The younger generation often confuses this great Mushili-mfumu with another Mushili who was the ancestress of that sept of the family which now rules in the Serenje District of N. Rhodesia. The whole ruling clan, then, is supposed to have

<sup>1</sup> Here *ny* is *ny* of Lala orthography, the palatal nasal consonant, phon. *ɲ*.

sprung from the incestuous union of Lesa and his sister, and to have continued ever since in the female line, besides which Lesa assumes the position of maternal uncle to the Ruling Clan; in a matrilineal society the maternal uncle is looked on as the head of the family and its protector. Lesa shares the Praise Name *Kaykomb*a (Scraper) with the members of the Ruling Clan. It will be noticed that Mushili's village is looked on as being here below; in Lala society the husband resides, at least for a time, in the wife's village, if he is a commoner; a chief will take his wife to his own village; the fact that they were brother and sister is disregarded; Lesa's sphere is above, Mushili's below, where her village is thought to have been.

### *The Coming of Death and Evil*

Lesa and Mushili had two sons, Kashindika the elder, and Lucheles the younger. They were sent by their father from heaven to earth to "build villages." It is the ambition of every Lala man to "build a village," that is, to become a village headman. They came to earth, which was the property of their mother, and found complete darkness, as there was neither sun nor moon.

"Kashindika and Lucheles argued together and said 'Let us go to Lesa's and get a sun and moon.' It dawned, and Kashindika set off to get a sun and moon. When he arrived they killed an ox, saying 'The chief's son has come.' In the evening the meat-relish was cooked and the porridge was served and they took it to the hut where the chief's son was to sleep. Now Lesa kept a great fat dog, and it went to where Kashindika was; when he saw it, he picked up the tongs and gave the fat dog a blow on the backbone, and off it went cringing from side to side.

"Then it got light. Lesa called him to go and choose the packages of the sun and moon, because there were very many packages in the store-hut. However he went home empty-handed because he did not see the sun or the moon.

"It dawned and Lucheles set off to get a sun and moon. They killed an ox. But, he, when the fat dog came, immediately took some relish

and put it in a relish-pot with a large lump of porridge, and gave it to the dog. It ate it. When it had finished eating it opened its mouth and said 'Don't say that the dog told you, but, in the morning, when they call you, you will see me go and scratch at some packages and sniff at others, take those; my name is Sniffy-dog. Lesa does not know one package from another.' He did as the dog told him."

Some versions of this myth tell how the dog also pointed out other useful packages to Lucheles, one of cocks and another of hornbills "which tell us when dawn is near." One of the versions continues in this way:—

"When he got to the village he put the package of the sun in the East, and that of the moon in the West; he put that of the hornbills with the sun, and that of the cocks in the verandah of the hut. He went into the hut and lay down with his wife, who said 'So you have got back?' He said 'Yes, I have got back.' Then they slept. Then the people heard '*Kokoliliko!*' Everybody said 'What is that to-day?' Then they heard the hornbills; then all was bright and the sun came up, and they all said 'That is good, our Lucheles has brought the sun.' So the sun stayed on the earth.

"Now the elder, Kashindika, was filled with jealousy and said 'How is it that my junior, Lucheles, has brought the sun, and not me? It is because he is the one that Lesa favours.' He went to rest in a rage. At dawn he set off to Lesa's, saying 'Now I shall get the world-destroyer, poison; when I have got it I will kill people.' So he reached Lesa's. He said 'Peace Kashindika?' And he said 'Peace, O enemy.' He said 'Why do you call me enemy?' And he said 'Because you refused me the sun and gave it to my junior, Lucheles.' He said 'He took it for himself.' And he said 'Now I want the world-destroyer.' Lesa said 'World-destroyer, what is that?' He said 'Poison.' Lesa said 'I refuse.' He said 'Then I will just take it.' Lesa said 'That will be your own palaver.' He said 'Right.' So Kashindika took the poison and went off home.

"When Kashindika got to the edge of the village, Luche's wife, who was making porridge in her house, died with the porridge-paddle in her hands. When Kashindika arrived he found Luche's wife was dead. Everyone said 'What has caused this?' All said 'Perhaps it is Kashindika who has brought this poison.' They said 'Let us go and bury her.' They all went and buried her. On getting back they found Kashindika's wife dead too, and they went and buried her as well. Then Luche said 'The way my senior has brought poison here is very bad, I shall go off somewhere else to live.'

Now Luche went off to the East, his senior, Kashindika, said 'I am off in the other direction.' He went off to the West."

Although another account of the origin of death has been given already, this last is the one usually known. It is believed that all who die go to the West, to Kashindika's, whilst all good things come from the East. The name Kashindika is connected with the verb *-sindika* (push), and it is given to the East (from our point of view) wind, because it carries all before it to the West; it is the prevailing wind for much of the year, especially in the hot dry months, when it carries the dead leaves swirling from the trees in clouds to the West. It has been said that it is believed that those who die go to the West (*imbo-nsi*), and a person "who has died and risen again" (i.e. coma) will often be known as Kabwelakumbo (He-who-came-back-from-the-West); the dead are buried with their heads to the West, for, as the proverb says, "Those who go West do not come back."

Luche is connected with the verb *-ca* (dawn). The sun is said never to break its promise, but to come up day after day, with never a break. So it comes about that a Lala will always sleep with his head to the East, "that he may wake safely in the morning, and sleep free from bad dreams which come from the West."

This idea of the opposition of East and West, Life and Death, Good and Bad, crops up again in the ceremony observed when a child's first milk tooth comes out; he throws the tooth to the East

"because we know that his tooth will grow again," and he takes a small piece of charcoal, the size of the tooth, and, having put it for a moment in the gap, throws it to the West. Sometimes the tooth is blackened before throwing it away.

Mr. Stephenson, the first magistrate in the W. Lala area, in his book *Chirupula's Tale*, says that he was told that there was a third brother called Shingo. When his two elder brothers, Kashindika and Luche, divided the earth between them, he was so angry at being forgotten that he turned himself into a lion and still wanders over the whole earth; East and West, all is his. This detail seems to have been forgotten amongst the W. Lalas to-day, but still the lion figures in the affairs of the Ruling Clan, the *Nyëndwa*. One sept, that of Mboloma, the senior W. Lala chief, believes that its members may be turned into lions at death. It is the custom for the body of a ruling chief to be allowed to rot before death; the body is placed on a frame with a pot beneath into which liquids produced by putrefaction may flow; in the case of ruling chiefs of the Mboloma sept, the bones and other matter which remain after rotting, are carried to the Mulembo Stream which forms the boundary between the Serenje and Mukushi Districts of N. Rhodesia, and, roughly, between the E. Lalas and the W. Lalas. The corpses also of all other members of this sept are carried to the same spot. Here they are received by two village headmen whose predecessors have performed this office for rather more than one hundred years at the same spot; one is of the Wild-dog Clan, the other of the Shell-ornament Clan. The remains are carried by these two men to a swamp-thicket and placed in a round hut built of upright poles placed close together, as is the case when building an ordinary hut, but which are not covered with mud. Here they are treated with medicine which contains the bodies of three varieties of ant, the red, the black soldier, and another; all these three varieties of ant are supposed to devour large quantities of food but never to get fatter, therefore they are thought to carry the food to their lairs and there mould bodies of new members of their race. After being treated for some days a small living



object, the size of a finger nail, will appear in the remains; this little thing is fed with offerings of flour and slowly grows into a lion, first a cub, and then full-grown. When full-grown it is shown a gun, and a spear; and a bow and arrow, and warned not to go near such things, since they bring death. The new lion is then liberated and will for a time bring gifts of meat to the two men who moulded it. No Lala will kill a lion before first making sure it is not a chief; this is done by running through a list of the names of likely members of the Ruling Clan, and if it does not assent to any of the names it will be shot.

It is of interest to note that whilst the Lala divide human personality into three parts: the *umuwili* (body), the *umwēo* (animal life—such as any living beast has), and the *umupasi* (human spirit), although that personality is thought, in the case of one of these members of the Ruling Clan, to reappear in a lion which has some sort of identity with the dead man or woman, the *umupasi* is thought to serve, after his or her death, as the *umupasi* of one or more persons, male or female, either at different times or at the same time, who are known as *ifibwela* (come-backs) of the first. The *umupasi*, in the case of a famous Ruling Chief, will at the same time be given offerings, in its position of "Owner of the veld," and may also enter into one or more spirit-possessed dancers—all at the same time.

#### *Lesa the Incompetent Chief*

In the myth last given Lesa appears as an elderly chief who cannot remember what the various things are which are in his store-hut, and who is powerless to stop Kashindika from taking the package of poison—death. When stories are being told round the fire at night, as likely as not some story of the foolishness of the Creator will be told, some such as the following:

"A human set off wandering, he said 'Here we have wandered and wandered; to-day I am going to Lesa's to marry Lesa's daughter.' He went and married. Now his wife brought him porridge, and when she brought the porridge she said 'Let us find out how your father let slip one thing.' Then the wife went and asked

her father 'What is this my husband says, that my father let one thing slip?' He said 'I will ask those people over there.' It was Lesa who said this. He said 'I will ask the son-in-law.' Then the son-in-law said 'Father-in-law, this is what I am asking; you made all things, all the hills you placed, now, where I was on earth, people die; the package of death you did not hold fast, you let it slip.' Then Lesa said 'No, yes, son-in-law, all the packages I held fast, but the little package of death I did let slip; it is right what you say, even now, where you come from, a person has died, you will find people weeping.'"

The stammering hesitation of the elderly Lesa is clearly brought out in the story. Often the teller of the tale continues with some philosophical remarks on what would have happened if Lesa had been more careful; how people would cover the country like the game used to do, before men killed it off.

Lesa is thought to share man's character, neither better nor worse, he is quite capable of a smart trick such as will raise a laugh in the following story, telling of how he won a bet by divine power.

"Lesa and Lion had a bet saying 'I, Lion, if I were to go a long way, even as far as Mase-nga, and shout, my wife would hear.' Lesa said, 'Lion, she couldn't; you're a liar.' They made a tremendous bet. Lesa said 'But I, if I were to shout, my wife would hear, she would put beer to brew.' Lion said 'Right, let's tell our wives what to do if they hear us shout.' Lion told his wife first. Lesa then told his wife, 'You will hear, because you know my voice.' So they set off and travelled for five days; there they stopped. Lion said 'This is too close; I, Lion, could easily be heard.' Lesa said 'Friend, this is far.' Lion said 'Let's move on another three days.' Lesa said, 'Right, let's go.'

"Up they got, and went another three days. Lion said, 'Yes, let's stay here; I, Lion, will shout tomorrow and my wife will malt grain.' Lesa said 'Right.' It dawned. Lion began to shout, he shouted all day, he left off in the evening. Lesa said 'Your wife hasn't heard

because you don't shout loudly.' Lion said 'She has heard, I am quite sure.' Lesa said 'I too will shout, tomorrow.' It dawned. Lesa began to shout; he shouted once, and his wife heard and began to brew. When Lion heard he said, 'Indeed when you shout the soil quivers and the thunder goes right down, but they won't hear in the village, you are a liar.' Lesa shouted again once, and stopped. Lion said 'You have left off, you won't find beer at the village.' Lesa said 'Right.' They set off to go back.

"They reached the village, they went straight to Lion's hut. Lion said 'Wife, bring the beer, we'll drink.' His wife said "I didn't hear; I only heard Lesa; I thought perhaps you hadn't

shouted.' Lion said 'I shouted first.' Then they went off to Mrs. Lesa. Lesa said 'Bring the beer, we'll drink.' His wife brought the beer. They drink. Lesa accused Lion 'You thought your wife would hear and brew beer for us to drink; you thought wrong, I accuse you, go home.' "

#### *Lucele-nyanga*

Neighbouring tribes such as the Nsenga have a tradition of *Lucele-nyanga* having created the world, and certain marks on stone outcrops are said to be his foot-prints, left there before the rocks hardened. The story is known to the Lala and sometimes Luchele is spoken of as the Great Creator.

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# GANDA LITERATURE

By R. A. SNOXALL

In considering the question of Ganda literature, one's first thought is probably of disappointment that so little exists. This again is tempered by surprise that this should be so, for in daily dealings with the Baganda one cannot fail to be struck by the literacy of the people as a whole. There are for example numbers of vernacular newspapers for which there is a considerable regular sale; there are hundreds and hundreds of letters written in the vernacular which find their way through the post stamped or unstamped, and which preserve the links of friendship between Baganda many hundreds of miles apart. Perhaps even more numerous however than those which pass through approved postal channels are those handled by the grimy fingers of mechanics and lorry drivers and thrown into the road in passing through a village, frequently without even a shout to attract the attention of the benevolent pedestrian. Not only to their fellows are the Baganda prone to write letters, as Europeans who have been in the country for a number of years can testify, and it is all the more surprising therefore, amongst a people numbering approximately one million addicted as they are to letter writing, to find such scant literature. Kabaka Mutesa I, who was in touch with the outside world through Arab traders and the medium of Swahili, even before the arrival of Speke at his court in 1862, himself started the fashion of letter\* writing as is proved by an interesting facsimile of a letter which he wrote to General Gordon, admittedly through an amanuensis and in the language of English, with which the scribe and not the master was familiar. Kabaka Mwanga in his periods of lucidity evinced from time to time a wish to become literate, and his son Sir Daudi Chwa II, has left at least three printed works, so that the example has at any rate been provided by the highest in the land.

\*See the Uganda Journal Vol. V. p. 68 where a photograph of this facsimile appears.

What has caused this regrettable lack of Ganda literature? Perhaps an attempt to answer the question will best come at the end of this article, when the reader has gained some idea of what has been written by the Baganda themselves. As in other African languages there is not the same dearth of grammars, primers and word-lists, compiled largely by Europeans, as of real vernacular works by the people themselves; but although these invaluable aids to an appreciation of Ganda literature, or indeed examples of it, must receive the honourable mention which they deserve, they can only be regarded as the forerunners of a real indigenous literature.

The true beginning of Ganda literacy can be said to date from that day of October 8th, 1881, when Sembera asked for baptism, writing his note with a pointed piece of grass, and with ink made of soot and banana juice. It was then too that Alexander Mackay stimulated by the Reverend O'Flaherty to a deeper study of the Ganda language, began to produce vernacular reading matter from his printing press just outside the capital at Natete. It is just possible that before this Mutesa had been able to convey some meaning on paper by the use of Arabic script, but unlike the literature of Swahili that of Ganda was not originally transcribed in that script and from its very beginning was reliant on the Roman characters of Mackay's press.\* In 1886 it was possible for Mackay and Ashe to set up a message which was to be secretly distributed throughout the country to the Christians hiding from the mad persecution of Mwanga, and this extract from the New Testament, (I. Peter iv. vv. 12 to 19), gave heart to the considerable number able to read it. It is thus evident that by this time a

\*See *Mackay of the Great Lake*, by C. E. Padwick opposite p. 84, for an interesting facsimile (reduced), of the early efforts of the Baganda in drawing and writing, opposite p. 71 for specimens of Mackay's letter blocks carved in wood.

certain amount of the New Testament was available in the vernacular.

### *Early Works*

The earliest work which we possess, although coming into the category of an "aid" rather than a true example of Ganda literature, is the grammar\* of the Reverend C. T. Wilson who remained alone in the country from December 13th, 1877, after Lieutenant Shergold Smith and Mr. O'Neill had been killed on Ukerewe island, at the southern end of Lake Victoria. Of great interest is this grammar, since it represents the first effort by an Englishman to write down the sounds of the strange tongue which he heard around him. Its interest is greater than its practical value; for naturally it contains many inaccuracies, but it is well worth studying as it exemplifies errors of pronunciation into which the Englishman is most prone to fall even to-day in his attempts to speak the language, as well as certain forms of speech which to-day would appear distinct archaisms.

This little book was the predecessor of a number of others which were produced by the early Christian missionaries in Uganda, of which the best known to-day are the Reverend Pilkington's *Luganda Handbook* and his translation of the Bible with a staff of assistants, Crabtree's *Elements of the Luganda Language*, Canon Rowling's *Luganda Prose Composition*, and Kitching and Blackledge's *Dictionary*. The cause of Christianity and that of the civilisation of the Baganda people in particular suffered an irreparable loss by the death of George Pilkington, killed in the Sudanese Mutiny in 1897 while serving with the Baganda volunteers whose love and devotion he had so completely won. Pilkington, it is said, had such a gift of languages and had so ably prepared himself for his life in Buganda that he was able, shortly after his arrival, to preach a sermon in Luganda which was hailed as a masterpiece by all who heard it. Of the works above mentioned, apart from the wonderful translation of the Bible, Crabtree's *Elements of Luganda* is possibly the best known and has assisted many European learners to a knowledge of the language.

\*Published by the S.P.C.K. London 1882 and long since out of print.

From this book however there are a number of important omissions and it is very open to question whether the method employed of rigid adherence to the various noun classes, and the completion in sequence of all the concords particular to each, is a sound and progressive method to adopt in teaching the language. Kitching and Blackledge's *Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary* is of more recent date and is an invaluable work for quick reference, although as it admits, it does not lay claim to the deep research and thoroughness of the Reverend Father Le Veux's monumental *Vocabulaire Luganda-Français*. Father Le Veux's *Manual de la langue Luganda* is also the fullest and most helpful handbook for those who aim at a thorough knowledge of the language, but of course presupposes a knowledge of French. It is particularly of value in the incidental lists which appear in it of trees, birds, etc., and in the Ganda folk stories with an extremely literal and interlinear French translation. It is unfortunate that the methods of spelling adopted by the two great Christian missions of the Church Missionary Society and the French White Fathers should have been so dissimilar, but the orthography of the language will be discussed more fully later on.

### *The Older School of Baganda Authors*

Coming on to vernacular literature proper, written by the Baganda, the first books both chronologically and in order of merit must be acknowledged to be the three works of Sir Apolo Kagwa, K.C.M.G., who was Katikkiro, or Prime Minister, of Buganda and one of the signatories of the Buganda Agreement of 1901. The most important of these works is *Empisa za Baganda* ("The Customs of the Baganda,"), a large book recording a very great number of old Kiganda customs, of which the following six chapter headings taken at random provide a good example:—

1. The customs concerning the burial of the Kabakas of Buganda.
2. After burial.
3. The coming of age of His Highness Kabaka Daudi Chwa II.



4. Marriage customs of the Baganda.
5. Customs concerned with the bearing of twins.
6. Customs of the fishermen.

This book was originally published locally by the Uganda Printing and Publishing Company of Kampala in an edition of 319 pp. with a frontispiece of a photograph of the author in his full official robes. It is a very great pity that its format is not better; its paragraphing leaves much to be desired, and the print is very closely spaced and the margins narrow. Since the subsequent edition by the Sheldon Press has been reproduced by the photographic process these defects have been perpetuated. Most of this very valuable work appears to have been taken down from dictation and much of the information contained in it is to be found in English in Roscoe's book, *The Baganda their Customs and Beliefs*, for a very great deal of Roscoe's knowledge was derived from Sir Apolo or from informants whom he provided.

The second work is *Basekabaka be Buganda*, ("The Kings of Buganda,") after the style of *The Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah*; much of this is history and even more of it is legend. This work is now out of print, its style is easy and delightful narrative and a better model for this type of Ganda could not be found.

The third book, *Engero za Baganda*, ("Stories of the Baganda,") is a collection of some few of the innumerable folk stories of the country, very well recorded, and in a style which well repays study, for the purity of the Ganda idiom exemplified in this work is hardly found in any literature of the present day.

A fourth work by the same author, *Ebika bya Baganda*, ("The Clans of the Baganda,") has never yet been published, but it is to be hoped that publication of this work will not be unduly held up since it would add a further contribution to the sum of information recorded about the tribe of which Sir Apolo Kagwa was such an outstanding member. It would be of all the more value if an English translation could at the same time be provided together with the vernacular version when published.

So much for the works of Buganda's first great Katikkiro after the signing of the Buganda Agreement; works which would secure lasting distinction for the author in any language and undoubtedly the more noteworthy in that they were written so soon after the dawn of literacy in the country, and in the case of *Empisa* in particular, that they contain such a valuable preservation of old customs and contribution to anthropological knowledge.

In much the same style are the works of Ham Mukasa written. He is still alive and is the ex-Sekibobo or Saza (County) chief of Kyagwe, who has recently published with the Sheldon Press his book *Simuda Nyuma* ("Don't go back") containing much of the more modern history of Buganda and his own reminiscences of the times of Mutesa I and Mwanga II. Ham Mukasa was a page at Mutesa's court, an early convert to Christianity who accompanied the Katikkiro to England for the coronation of King George V, and acted as the scribe of the journey, a record of which he has left, written by himself in English, entitled *Uganda's Katikiro in England*. The book gives a most amusing and interesting account of the journey and I cannot help thinking may have served as a model and an inspiration for Kayamba's *Tulivyoona na tulivyofanya Uingereza*, a Swahili description of the journey to England of the East African delegates in 1930 to give evidence on the closer union of the East African dependencies before a joint select committee of members of Lords and Commons. Ham Mukasa has also written an article on "The Times of Kabaka Mutesa" which appeared in Volume I p. 116 et seq. of the *Uganda Journal*, printed together with an English translation by Mr. A. H. Cox, C.M.G., the Resident of Buganda. This hoary-headed old Muganda is very much alive and interested in the collection and the recording of Buganda place-names. He was probably the first Muganda ever to record for the gramophone in his own language, and has left recorded by the company of His Master's Voice a speech which he made on the evacuation by the people of the Lake Victoria islands after they had been closed on account of sleeping sickness in 1906.



Although Ham Mukasa has written two of his vernacular works quite recently he can more properly be regarded as one of the older school of Baganda writers for his style is like that of Sir Apolo Kagwa and his reminiscences are mostly of the earlier years of his life. He does in fact represent a convenient link between the old and the new.

#### *Modern Authors*

After the works of Ham Mukasa those of the late Kabaka Sir Daudi Chwa II, K.C.M.G., may conveniently be considered. Apart from a memorandum on "The use of Swahili in the Buganda kingdom," which was printed and made available in pamphlet form and is of great interest as representing a point of view which was the keynote of the Buganda Agreement and has never been forgotten since,—a reminder to the powers that be that the Baganda accept advice from the British government but innovations with the greatest reluctance,—the late Kabaka published two literary works. The first, *Lwaki Sir Apolo Kagwa Yavumula*, ("Why Sir Apolo Kagwa retired,") was published by the Swift Press, Nairobi, in an edition of 133 pp. for shs. 2/50. It is a collection of letters and a record of conversations which led up to the retirement of Sir Apolo from the office of Katikkiro. The second work is of a similar nature and is entitled, *Okuwumula kwa Stanislas Mugwanya*, ("The Retirement of Stanislas Mugwanya"). It describes the circumstances leading up to the retirement of the old blind Mulamuzi or Chief Justice, who has died within the last few years. It is published by the local Gambuze Press in an edition of 96 pp., price 2/-. It is very much to be regretted that these works by an eminent author should have been published in such a haphazard orthography and in such undistinguished editions.

A Muganda author of note who died only this year\* was Ssabalangira J. T. K. Ggomotoka Kikulwe, who left two printed works—*A Grammar of Luganda* and *Magezi Ntakke*, both published by The White Fathers' Printing Press. He has also left a number of useful works of research into local crafts, and a record of landholders,

besides recording a number of local legends, but these are so far unpublished. He will always be remembered as a Muganda with the most intense love for and pride in speaking and writing correctly his mother tongue and his grammar represents not only an attempt to explain his language along what he considered well approved grammatical lines, but the justification of his orthography and the only real attempt ever made by a Muganda to standardise the spelling of his own language. His spelling is very largely that used by The White Fathers' Mission but includes even more double consonants than are generally considered necessary in that orthography. Apart from the use of double consonants the grammar rules which it lays down differ but little from those set forth in the official Education Department grammar, which however, by its use of the "inverted full stop" for the double consonant, came unfortunately to be regarded as the rival of the Ssabalangira's grammar and as a publication designed to oust it. *Magezi Ntakke* is a most interesting book of 115 pp. which gives sketches from the history of Buganda and notes on certain old customs, hereditary chieftainships, the duties of chiefs and the like. It is a most praiseworthy attempt in cheap and accessible form to instill a knowledge of the country's history and a respect for its customs into the hearts and minds of the present generation, who seemed to the author to be increasingly lacking in such virtues. The writer was a great purist and wrote most elegant and at times extremely difficult Ganda. He was a man of very strong character with a deep knowledge of his own tongue and customs and with a real desire to evolve one standard Ganda orthography. His enthusiasm led him to convene a representative committee to discuss the spelling of Ganda and his death is a real blow to the country. It is encouraging to see, however, that inspired by his example a number of schoolmasters and interested Baganda now meet regularly to discuss questions related to the orthography and grammar of their language.

Like other African languages Ganda is not without its vernacular edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* or *Omutambuze* (The Traveller), as it is

known. This work was translated by the Reverend E. C. Gordon and published by the Sheldon Press in an edition of 118 pp. for 4/-. It is illustrated with photographs of Baganda who have enacted the various scenes depicted. I have heard from a number of Native readers that this feature of the book, which on the face of it would appear an attraction, is regarded by them as the opposite, and that they dislike the characters, whom they regard as either much better or much worse than themselves, being depicted by their own friends whose likenesses strike them as incongruous every time they look at the illustrations.

*The Younger Moderns—Travel Works—Geography*

African languages are not generally rich in biographies and it is all the more pleasing therefore that *The Life and Work of Canon Apolo Kivebulaya* should have been written and published, albeit in a small and abridged edition by L. M. Tebajanga, Y. Naluma and other relatives of the hero. The life of Canon Apolo was fully recorded by these writers but the question of publication was a difficulty, for the work was a very long one and the cost of its publication as it stood was prohibitive. It was also thought that it was unlikely to appeal to a large reading public, and since the authors were asked to bear the cost of publication it was decided on local advice to abridge the manuscript and to publish locally. This was eventually done and the book as it now stands includes particularly the portion of Apolo's life spent in mission work amongst the pygmies of the Belgian Congo forests. It was published by the Gambuze Press in an edition of 28 pp. price—/50 cents. This book is interesting, although its appearance and format are most unpretentious, since it may be said to be representative of ordinary unadorned modern Ganda. The work of writing the biography has aroused the principal author's interest in the problems of the orthography of his language and it is to be sincerely hoped that he will not rest content with this one work.

An example of a description of the travels in Europe of eminent Baganda is to be found in the

work of Joseph Musanje, a relative of the late Stanislas Mugwanya, entitled *Olugendo lwa Stanislas Mugwanya mu Bulaya ne mu Nsi Entukuvu*, ("The Journey of Stanislas Mugwanya in Europe and in the Holy Land.") This work is of 120 pp. and was published privately and is sold for 4/-. Another work of the same nature called *Omuganda mu Bulaya*, ("A Muganda in Europe,") published by the White Fathers' Printing Press and written by John Nsubuga shows how attractive these descriptions of travels overseas are to both authors and readers, although there has been nothing written subsequently to approach in interest the early work of Ham Mukasa, *Uganda's Katikiro in England*. It is likely that for some time yet such works will abound in the vernacular and there is I know another book of this description still in typescript written in Ganda by Y. K. Lubogo, the County Chief of Bugabula in Busoga, which he has called *Atanayita*—!\* and which runs to 198 typed pages. There is no doubt that in the country at present a well travelled man is a very respected person, but the hallmark of merit as a cultured traveller can still only be obtained by a journey to Europe. It is probable and much to be hoped that the most recent and eventful journey of this nature undertaken by a Muganda will be recorded, for since the outbreak of the present war the Right Reverend Bishop Kiwanuka, now Bishop of the White Fathers' Masaka Vicariate and the first Muganda ever to achieve this eminence, travelled in England and Europe and was given his office by the Pope in Rome.

It is natural as has been said that such journeys should have a great appeal to the Baganda, but it would be a great loss to literature if all such descriptions of travels were confined to those in Europe. E. S. Kironde, now a Gombolola chief and previously an Inspector of Schools, published in the local vernacular press a most interesting account of a journey which he made to Zanzibar and back. The interest which this article evoked should have proved that it was not necessary to

\*The first word of the Ganda proverb, *Atanayita atenda nyina okufumba*—"The untravelled man praises his mother's cooking."

write accounts of journeys to Europe and descriptions of sights recorded previously by countless well known writers in order to interest a number of African readers.

One is therefore glad to find such works as *Buganda ne Kabaka* ("Buganda and the Kabaka") by the Reverend B. Zimbe, and *Buganda nga ye ekomererayo* ("Buganda and its limits") by S. Nsubuga, and *Ndege ziba nyingi*\* ("The little bells are many") by Daudi Mukubira, all of which deal with the country as it is, its political and social organisation, and some description of modern life, generally in or around that much changed commercial capital of Kampala. Actually the first-mentioned is a history, the second a collection of pamphlets which are published every year by a society which had the name of *Buganda nga ye ekomererayo* now changed to *Buganda ey' ensikirano* ("The heritage of Buganda"), which is concerned with finding how best Kiganda customs should be changed to meet local modern conditions, and the third work is on cooperative methods in trade by the manager of the Baganda Cooperative store in Wandegaya market, Kampala. All these works have been locally published and show commendable enterprise although the orthography is misleading. S. Nsubuga however, true to the title of the pamphlets which he edits, is making every effort to be more consistent in his spelling, and a steady improvement in the standard of the society's publications may be expected.

An excellent geography book of Uganda by the Reverend T. C. L. Vincent, translated by the staff of his vernacular Normal School called *Enfanana y' Ensi* ("The appearance of the country"), was published some years ago by the Sheldon Press and is of much more general value than as a school reader for which purpose it was originally produced.

*Munonya w'Obugagga* ("The Seeker after Wealth") by William Kigongo is a most curious book, not to be commended for either its style or

the teaching which it sets forth. It is actually an attempted guide on how to get rich quickly and falls into the elementary trap of defining wealth as "hard cash"; it leaves one with the conviction that "the hiding of one talent in a napkin" would have commended itself to the writer as an eminently sound procedure. This book did however inspire two Baganda and a European to publish *Batuwa Amagezi* ("They give us advice") with the Sheldon Press in an edition of 68 pp., price 1/-, in an attempt to counteract some of the fallacious doctrines propounded in *Munonya w'Obugagga*. This book still enjoys a good sale and shows what benefits modern civilisation has brought, and suggests how they can best be embraced within the existing Native structure. Unlike almost all the vernacular works mentioned in this article this little book contains many illustrations, but it is a pity that it was published during the period when official usage dictated the orthography of the inverted full stop, since apart from this the orthography is reliable and is that of a Muganda who is acknowledged to be an exceptionally sound authority on the grammar of his own language.

The ordinary school readers have purposely been omitted from this article since although a number are not without literary merit, they are quite frequently translations and could hardly be considered worthy of inclusion under the heading of Ganda literature.

#### *Magazines and Newspapers*

It may also appear for similar reasons that the vernacular press would not come within the scope of this article, but since it will have been seen from what has already been written that Baganda authors owe much to their vernacular press for the enterprise which they have shown in placing their writings upon the market, and since the press appeals to a large reading public, it would be remiss not to mention the newspapers at least by name.

First we must note *Matalisi* (The "Postal Runner"), printed and published twice monthly by the Uganda Printing and Publishing Company, Kampala. This newspaper, besides distributing

\*This illustrates the liking in Ganda for leaving a proverb to be completed by the hearer, for the full version is:—*Ndege ziba nyingi ne ziyomba*—"The little bells are many and they make a noise." In order to teach children to walk little bells are fastened around their ankles which also show their whereabouts.



in Ganda much of the news which has appeared in English in *The Uganda Herald*, owned by the same firm, does contain essentially Native articles and correspondence and is probably the best produced of any of the vernacular newspapers. *Munno* ("Your friend"), now published by the White Fathers' Press at Kisubi and previously by their press at Bukalasa, has been going for a number of years and its first editor was the Reverend Father Gorju, now Bishop Gorju, the distinguished author of *Un Royaume Hamitique*, and the retired Bishop of the Ruanda vicariate of the White Fathers' Mission.

Next in order comes the Church Missionary Society's *Bifa* ("News"), published once a month by the Uganda Bookshop Press in magazine form and sold for —/40 cents. This contains supplements for school teachers as well as for church workers and, in addition to local news, gives some idea of what is happening in other parts of the world.

*Gambuze* is a locally produced newspaper which appears every ten days. As will have been seen from what has gone before, this printing press has been responsible for the publication of a number of vernacular works by local authors. The paper is very reasonably printed and the type in which it is set up is good.

*Dobozi lya Buganda* ("The Voice of Buganda") is a newspaper which has had some very stormy passages with the authorities since it has always prided itself on the daring revelation of scandals and on its outspoken criticism. Its popularity has definitely increased recently, possibly owing to the greater care which it now exercises in its printing of news and the more level-headed criticism which appears in its columns. Its price is —/25 cents and it is published every ten days. The type in which it is printed is very broken and irregular and there is no consistency whatever in the orthography.

*Tula Nkunonyole* ("Sit down and I will explain to you") is the next in order of popularity and is published for the same price as the other two and at the same intervals. Its printing press is in Mengo market and its type is quite fair.

*Munonyozyozi* ("The Explainer"), for the same

price and at the same intervals as the others, is published by the Bataka press at Mengo, but its type is rather like that of *Dobozi* and at times the lines are a little difficult to follow.

With these newspapers available, it is not strange that in their moments of leisure most Baganda resort to one or other of them and journeys by motor bus or by lake steamer are often pleasantly passed, first in reading the newspaper and then in discussion of various topics of interest. One hopes that the editors of these newspapers will increasingly realise their power and at the same time their responsibility, and will endeavour to give their readers better-constructed models and better-spelt than those which all too often appear in their columns.

#### *Poems—Riddles—Songs*

Up to the present it must be confessed that no distinctively African poetry has appeared in Ganda, and what has been done follows closely English models as exemplified in the hymn book. E. Mulira however, who has had the advantage of having been to Achimota and who has a real knowledge of English as well as a true love of his vernacular, has given us one or two poems in which he has tried to evolve something more in conformity with an African language. He is very conscious himself that he is still striving after something which he finds intensely difficult, and perhaps his own exceptional knowledge of English and his appreciation of English poetry at present merely increases his difficulty, but I feel that he will eventually succeed in producing something distinctive and really great in his own tongue.

A collection of riddles could hardly be acknowledged as literature, but together with full explanatory notes and with a careful classification of the riddles, the collection of the Reverend Mordecai Kaizzi, "*Biko*," richly deserves the literature prize of the Uganda Church Missionary Society's publication committee which it has recently won. Various collections of Ganda proverbs have in the past been made, but are all unclassified and lack the full explanations which alone would make them valuable; perhaps the most useful of these appeared in Volume III p. 247 of the *Uganda Journal* and was collected by

Mr. C. S. Nason; but the work of the Reverend Kaizzi is all the more valuable in that it is that of a Muganda, has been carefully classified, and is fully explained.

In much the same way the collection of a large number of Ganda songs by Byangwa is not perhaps of so much value in itself as for the insight into the older methods of versification which it gives, and which may prove of value to poets present and future in their attempts to produce some really distinctive Ganda poetry. Mr. Byangwa is so keen on preserving these old songs and a knowledge of how to play the old musical instruments of Uganda, that he has set up his own school of music and also goes round some of the schools of Kampala teaching the young Baganda how to play the old national instruments.

### *Orthography*

In conclusion something must be said on the subject of orthography, since a practical and consistent one can be one of the greatest aids in the promotion of a literature in any language, and the existence of several divergent forms in one language can equally prevent the development of a literature and discourage publication. This has undoubtedly occurred in the case of Ganda and has more than anything else retarded the growth of its literature.

It has been seen how the beginnings of Ganda literacy date from the early teaching of the Christian missionaries, and these missionaries were then, and have generally been since, either English or French-speaking with the ideas of grammar and spelling possessed by each. From the first there was a great divergence of method for, whilst the White Fathers' spelling was inclined to be disjunctive, though at no time approaching the extent of disjunctiveness of Sotho for example, that of the Church Missionary Society, as represented in Pilkington's translation of the Bible, was much more conjunctive, if not always consistently so. Another great difference was in the method employed to convey the lengthened or double consonants in Ganda for, whilst the White Fathers' orthography put them in, that of the Church Missionary Society conveyed them by an

apostrophe. With the beginning of a Government Education Department a committee was convened in 1925 in order to approve of the *Makerere* Grammar which was to be regarded as the standard book in all schools, and this of course entailed the approval of one method for conveying the double consonants. Since the representatives of the missions considered that their own method of conveying the sounds produced was correct, a compromise was suggested by the Governments' representatives, and the curious expedient of the inverted full-stop was hit upon and accepted by the missions, who clearly did not intend to follow it, and in the publications of their mission presses actually did not do so. This full-stop *envunike* ("upside-down"), as the Baganda called it, replaced the apostrophe of the Protestant Mission and was made by printing the top half only of a colon, although this was impossible to type. The actual word-division adopted was that of the White Fathers which has been much more widely observed than the inverted full-stop ever was. The harm done by the misguided use of the inverted full-stop has been considerable and has been largely the cause of the very poor stammering reading which is still to be heard in even the higher classes of the vernacular schools. It is encouraging that the Church Missionary Society has now adopted the double consonants where it considers that they are necessary to convey a difference in meaning between two words. It is even more encouraging, as I have mentioned earlier in this article, to see that the Baganda themselves are displaying the interest which we have long awaited in the problems of their own language, and are meeting regularly to discuss questions of spelling and grammar. It is a pity that the Buganda Lukiko, or Native Government, has given no lead in such matters, although it is understandable that those of the older generation who largely compose it, should feel a little too old now to learn to spell. It is however unfortunate that documents emanating from officers of the Lukiko should show such variant methods of spelling and it can immediately be seen from the orthography used whether the writer is a Protestant or a Catholic.

Naturally under such handicaps the Baganda have experienced considerable difficulty in writing for publication, and unfortunately the difference in the spelling employed by the two main missions has meant that the publications of the mission presses have been confined to works produced by members of their own denomination only, and authors have perforce resorted to the local presses with their often inferior and broken type, which has very adversely affected the appearance of the published work. A further contributory cause to the comparative lack of vernacular literature, is the expense involved in publishing editions for a very limited reading public, and it is in this respect mainly that the local printing presses have performed such a valuable task for they have

enabled authors to publish works which the larger and more modern presses would have considered not worth accepting.

From the foregoing it will be seen how those who have the interest of the people at heart await the day when one standard form of the language will be accepted and used. Great strides towards this have already been made and it is probable that natural and gradual standardisation will follow, and, if the present generation in their haste to learn English will but spare a thought for their mother tongue, who knows, perhaps they will be learning and writing the "Kabaka's Luganda" at the same time as they are picking up the "King's English."

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## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

### *African Studies*

With this issue our Journal appears in new guise and with a new name. For twenty years *Bantu Studies* has strived to serve the anthropological and linguistic needs of Bantu Africa and during that time has gradually won its way to international recognition in this field of studies. Now with the new conditions imposed on Africa by the war, with the territories further north looking more and more towards the centres of study in the south, and with the lapsing of so many overseas journals which hitherto catered for anthropology and linguistics in Africa, a new situation has arisen.

In order to meet this situation and in order to cope with the requirements of Africa beyond the borders of Bantu, we have altered the format of the journal, making available more space for scientific contributions, and changing the title to that of *African Studies*. This change incidentally removes an anomaly under which *Bantu Studies* was hitherto made to serve also Bushman and Hottentot, two South African non-Bantu elements. We trust that, with this new venture, *African Studies* will be of great value to students, field-workers, missionaries and administrators throughout the Continent.

While articles in the journal will, in the main, probably appear in English, the Editors will welcome contributions in Afrikaans, as in the past. Further, it will be the policy of the Editors to accept for publication articles in French and Portuguese dealing with subjects from French-speaking and Portuguese-speaking territories in Africa. In each case, when an article appears in Afrikaans, French or Portuguese, a short summary in English will accompany it.

\* \* \*

*Bantu Studies* was founded in 1921 by J. D. Rheinallt Jones (now Senator) with generous financial assistance from the Council of Education, Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Strangely enough

the first volume of three numbers (No. 1, October 1921; No. 2, May 1922; No. 3, October 1922) was issued in quarto, with a double-column page very similar to the format we are now inaugurating. The three numbers together only totalled some two dozen pages, and this early volume, a rarity today, was reprinted later in a single part to conform with the rest of *Bantu Studies*. The four parts of Volume II came out irregularly from 1923 to 1926, Volume III from 1927 to 1929. With Volume IV, 1930, however the journal became a quarterly and has maintained its regular publication up to the end of 1941, during which year Volume XV appeared. *African Studies* Volume I of 1942 is really *Bantu Studies* in a more grown-up form.

Throughout the Journal's career the Council of Education have maintained their generous support, for many years by making direct grants, latterly through their grant to the Publications Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand, which now subsidises the publication. The first volume appeared under the imprimature of the Council of Education, Witwatersrand, but from Volume II onwards *Bantu Studies* was published by the Witwatersrand University Press.

\* \* \*

With this change of form have come certain adjustments in the administration of the Journal. The Joint Editors and Editorial Committee will function as before, but instead of an Editorial Board, Regional Correspondents have been set up—for the moment, one for the Eastern Sudan and one for the Rhodesias. Probably others for West Africa and East Africa will be added later. These correspondents will keep us in touch with more remote districts where we need specialist advice and collaboration. Our very warm thanks and appreciation are expressed to the members of the Editorial Board of *Bantu Studies* who so readily associated themselves with our journal, some of them for a considerable number of years.

\* \* \*

### *Grammar of Bantu*

The Department of Bantu Studies of the University of the Witwatersrand, is anxious to get into touch with field workers who have grammars, grammatical outlines or grammatical notes on Bantu languages which have been hitherto unrecorded or on which little information is available. The Department is hoping to commence a series of grammatical publications of such works, as they will be of value to students of Comparative Bantu as well as to missionaries and other workers in the field.

\* \* \*

### *Anthropology and Missions*

A Bureau of Missions and Colonial Planning has been set up in the University of Aberdeen. The whole project is described in a pamphlet entitled *Anthropology and the Future of Missions* published by the University Press for 1s. Its object is to promote discussion of their differences between anthropologists and missionaries. For this purpose it will gather scientific information and make it available to missions and governments through circulars, conference, etc. Hitherto, says the pamphlet, mission policy as a whole has to some extent suffered from certain limitations, in particular a failure to appreciate the broader background of missionary work and the potentialities of science for human welfare in colonial territories. On the other hand, scientists have not always appreciated the aims and difficulties of missionary work. Since both scientists and missionaries are interested in the welfare of Native people and are able to contribute in their own ways to the solution of colonial problems, closer co-operation between them is clearly necessary.

To establish contact with bodies and individuals interested in the problems concerned, and to obtain the benefit of their advice, the Bureau will welcome correspondence. In particular, it would like to receive comment on the project as outlined in the pamphlet, suggestions as to how the Bureau can be of service to missionary bodies on the one hand and scientists or administrators on the other and statements of problems encountered and of experiments which have been tried.

The Bureau is under the direction of Sir John Orr, Professor Lancelot Hogben, Professor John M. Graham and Dr. Ralph Piddington.

Communications should be sent to either of the last two at the Anthropological Museum, Marischal College, Aberdeen, Scotland.

\* \* \*

### *Natives in Urban Areas*

How to improve the condition of Natives in the urban areas of the Union is the subject of inquiry by a Commission of highly placed public officials that is now sitting. Mr. Douglas L. Smit, Secretary for Native Affairs, is the Chairman.

In response to a request, the University of the Witwatersrand gave evidence which was compiled in collaboration by members of the Departments of Bantu Studies, Economics, and Commerce. This evidence pointed out that Natives in the towns lack that degree of social and economic organisation that would do for them what tribalism did, and still does to some extent, in the countryside. At present urban Natives are generally excluded from the scope of the various social welfare services available to poor Europeans through various channels. Native families are expected not only to maintain themselves on their present low incomes, but also to support relatives and friends, especially the aged and very young. Moreover, far too large a proportion of urban labour is casual. This means low rates of wages (since casual labour is unskilled), uncertainty of employment, and therefore very low annual earnings. Many of the factors making for a high proportion of casual labour could be overcome, and decasualisation would lead to improvement of conditions.

Other points made in the evidence included the need to take a regular census, to encourage trade unionism, to assist co-operative societies, to distribute surplus foodstuffs, and to increase central control of municipal Native Revenue Accounts.

The University of Cape Town and Rhodes University College also gave evidence.

\* \* \*

*Easy English for Africans*

Efforts now being made to provide better library facilities for Africans are helping to draw attention to a need, apparent for some time, for a new kind of writing. The dearth of books in the vernacular will mean that the new libraries will be stocked mainly with books written in English. English must inevitably be the chief medium of information in southern and eastern Africa. It is the obvious *lingua franca* where many different languages and dialects are spoken.

But the number of Africans who are able to read ordinary English books with any facility is very small. On the other hand, there are hundreds of thousands who would be able to read English literature written in a special simplified style. Dr. E. R. Roux is preparing a special "defining vocabulary" based on a selection of the English words most commonly used and

understood by Africans. The first draft of a vocabulary on these lines is now available and it has been used in writing Pim Pamphlet No. 3 ("Education Through Reading,") shortly to be published by the Institute of Race Relations. Further research is proceeding and assistance will be welcomed, particularly from editors of Bantu newspapers and from writers or prospective writers of books, pamphlets and articles for Africans. Further information and copies of the draft vocabulary may be obtained from Dr. Roux at Euglena, Queens Road, Rondebosch, Cape.

The Department of English in the University of the Witwatersrand has initiated an inquiry into the teaching of English in Native schools and would be glad to hear from all interested, particularly in the comparative merits of the various systems and readers now in use.

## TEXT BOOK OF LAMBA GRAMMAR

By Professor C. M. DOKE

484 Pages. 12s. 6d.

A comprehensive account of the phonetical, morphological and syntactical structure of the language together with useful material on its lexicology and idiom.

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## BANTU STUDIES

In back numbers of this Journal complete and authoritative surveys have been published of the present state of our knowledge in three branches of Bantu Studies.

March, 1933: Native Languages.

*Edited by C. M. Doke.*

September, 1934: Ethnography.

*Edited by I. Schapera.*

December, 1935: Prehistory.

*Edited by A. J. H. Goodwin.*

Copies of these issues (each of which contains an extensive bibliography) are still obtainable at the price of 5/- each.

JOHANNESBURG  
WITWATERSRAND UNIVERSITY PRESS



## BOOKS IN REVIEW

*An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia*, by Godfrey Wilson. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Paper No. 5. pp. 71. 1941. 2s.

In this excellent little essay Mr. Wilson paints a very vivid picture of the problems of adjustment and maladjustment that Africans in the town of Broken Hill are facing owing to the impact of the world economy on their primitive and self-contained social structure. In Broken Hill there are about 1,600 Europeans and some 15,000 Africans so that Mr. Wilson, who shows a keen appreciation of the value of accurately presented information, had a manageable sample for observation. If, however, the picture presented is less complicated than those to be seen in the large urban areas of the Union, it has many fundamental features in common and both for its likenesses and contrasts with conditions in the Union, Mr. Wilson's study is worthy of wide consideration.

Since it is from this point of view that a large number of readers are likely to be interested in this essay, perhaps the best manner in which the reviewer can commend the work is to mention one or two relevant points brought out by Mr. Wilson. In Northern Rhodesia even more completely than in the Union it is mining which has brought the African into regular economic contact with the outside world. It is as a source of cheap unskilled labour that the African is valuable in the present economy, and though this gives the African a place in the economy which offers the prospect of manufactured clothes and bicycles, the place it offers is poor and precarious beside that of the skilled European who withholds the opportunity of acquiring skill from his African neighbour. What this means in a small and recently developed community is well explained by the author.

It means among other things that very little secondary industry and trade has any chance of developing. Indeed as Mr. Wilson shows in an interesting analysis the "rural" areas only

benefit in this development to the extent of receiving gifts from relatives who find their way to work in the town, and are considerably worse off economically since the most capable labour drifts into the town. This situation is matched in the Union despite the growth of secondary industry in recent years, a growth which now stands at the cross-roads, its success depending on the extension of the internal market through an improvement in the economic status and earning capacity of the non-European. Mr. Wilson seems to hold the view that this situation must automatically solve itself. It may be agreed that there is nothing inevitable in the indefinite continuation of the caste system in the Union, but there is even less case for propounding the inevitability of the sort of development Mr. Wilson seems to visualise. On the other hand, it may be said that Mr. Wilson's vision is the only one that seems to offer a happy solution of Africa's great economic problem.

One point well brought out by Mr. Wilson is the high degree of urbanization which has already taken place, even in Broken Hill. Economic conditions and wage rates for the African have been developed on the assumption that the African is a migrant worker with a fundamental attachment to the country. Even in Broken Hill this is not a true assumption for a large part of the population. This assumption is certainly too widely made in the Union and far too many of our failures to provide family wage rates and decent social services for urban Natives are based on it. Yet in Broken Hill conditions are better than on the copper belt or the Rand mines in this respect, for a much larger provision has been made for Natives to live with their wives in the town where they themselves live and work. This as Mr. Wilson points out is a factor of great importance making for social stability and ("out of the mouths of babes and sucklings") is a lesson which Broken Hill can teach the Rand.

J. N. REEDMAN.

*The Union's Burden of Poverty*, by Senator the Hon. J. D. Rheinallt Jones and Professor R. F. Alfred Hoernlé. Johannesburg: S.A. Institute of Race Relations; 1942; 44 pp., 1s.

The timely appearance of this pamphlet, and the breadth of view from which its authors treat their subject, commend it to the attention not only of a wide public, but of legislators, administrators and students. The pamphlet discusses primarily the burden of poverty of Africans, though the authors point out that many of their recommendations should be applied to, or would benefit, the poor of all races. Senator Rheinallt Jones has contributed a comprehensive article on "Economic and Social Policy," in which he discusses the position of Africans in Native areas, on European farms, and in the towns, and the changes and reforms needed to relieve the poverty of these people. Professor Hoernlé deals "mainly with the problem of how to improve the position of the African urban worker."

The authors regard increased industrialisation as the natural destiny of the Union, and point out that the fulfilment of this destiny will require a large permanent African urban labour force, which is not compatible with "segregation" (except of the residential variety), and which calls for a review of the fundamental assumptions upon which European attitudes, official and unofficial, towards urban Africans have been based. They expose effectively the social evils and economic waste which attend the use of casual migratory labour. But they do not refer to the extent to which manufacturing industry in the Union is dependant (normally) upon barriers to the free importation of goods, nor do they consider how far, under these circumstances, a further growth of industry may be compatible with the best utilisation of our resources, or with the clause in the Atlantic Charter which looks to greater freedom of international trade in the future.

In their recommendations for policy, one would have welcomed a distinction between measures designed to relieve poverty by means directed to *increasing* the national income, and measures designed to relieve poverty by *re-distributing* income in favour of the relatively poor: and an

acknowledgment of the superiority, on grounds of economic welfare, of measures of the former kind, particularly in a country where the poor are so many and the rich so few. Among measures falling into the former category, pride of place must surely be given to a relaxation of those barriers to the economic mobility of African labour which collectively constitute the "colour bar" in the labour market. The authors cannot be charged with having neglected the colour bar; but it may be suggested that they have not brought out its cardinal importance. Senator Rheinallt Jones does not seem altogether convinced (p. 22) that there may not be good and sufficient reasons of a non-economic character for a retention of the colour bar. But if the colour bar remains, few things are more certain than that his vision of the industrial future of the country will prove to be a mirage.

Professor Hoernlé discusses, in the field of proposals for policy, chiefly wage determinations and social services. Both of these (except in so far as either may indirectly increase the productive efficiency of labour) fall, of course, into the category of measures designed to relieve poverty by transferring wealth from one section of the community to another; and even if we could assume far more good will and equalitarian sentiment than are likely to prevail, measures of this kind would inevitably be limited in their efficacy by the fact that the total annual income available for distribution between ten million people is of the order of magnitude only of £400 million, giving an average income which by Western standards is exceedingly low (being, for instance, almost certainly less than one-third of that of the people of Great Britain).

From both authors wage determinations receive a qualified blessing; the extension of a comprehensive programme of social services to Africans, rural as well as urban, is vigorously advocated. While the authors very rightly insist that social services for Africans cannot be paid for by Africans, they do not tell us how much they think the services they advocate would cost, or how the cost would compare with the size of the national income.

Senator Rheinalt Jones's treatment of the alternatives confronting those responsible for "developing" the Native areas is suggestive, and is the more to be welcomed inasmuch as "development of the Reserves" is in some danger of becoming one of those slogans which serve as a substitute for thought, and the present policy of the Native Trust seems quite unrelated to the need for reducing the part played by migratory and inefficient labour in the economy of the Union.

The pamphlet naturally does not pretend to be a blue-print for Utopia. Its value lies in the fact that it raises in a stimulating manner nearly all the fundamental problems which must be faced now if the years through which we are passing are to be a turning-point in the economic and social history of the country. Our thanks are due to the authors. May this be the first of a series of no less valuable pamphlets.

N. N. FRANKLIN.

*The Colour Bar in the Copper Belt*, by Julius Lewin. Johannesburg: S.A. Institute of Race Relations. 20 pp. 6d.

In this pamphlet Mr. Lewin traces in some detail the origin and growth of the conception of a colour bar on the Rand and its transference to the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia. He makes it quite clear that it is not primarily a creation of statute but that it is due to fear among the European skilled workers that they may lose their jobs to Africans. Mr. Lewin then goes on to discuss suggested solutions of the problems involved. He sums up his argument thus: "In short, there are four steps which would transform the whole situation in the Copper Belt:—

- (1) the establishment of a trade union for African miners;
- (2) an official declaration of the conditions of European immigration;
- (3) the appointment of a Wage Board;
- (4) increased political representation for Africans in the Legislative Council."

In the light of our experience in South Africa of wage problems and of a colour bar, these suggestions appear very inadequate. A trade

union can do nothing to alter an economic system which gives rise to the fear that makes European workers insist on a colour bar. A total prohibition of European immigration would lead ultimately to a monopoly of the skilled jobs for Africans, but it is hardly conceivable that such a prohibition is attainable. Then, too, a Wage Board, though it might gain some increase in wages for the African workers, could not solve the colour bar problem as exemplified in Mr. Lewin's example of the lorry drivers who, being Europeans, on one mine are paid £30 a month, while those, being Africans, on another mine are paid only £3 a month. Any wage prescribed by a Wage Board for such an occupation must be one so low as to preclude Europeans from accepting it or so high as to incline employers to prefer to employ Europeans. Lastly, any conceivable increase in the political representation of the Africans is unlikely to be of any real value to them.

The Europeans in Southern Africa have the political power and they will not willingly relinquish it or the colour bar which they believe is a protection against encroachment by the Africans on their standard of living. Mr. Lewin rightly traced the colour bar to the fear of such encroachment. Is it not clear that the remedy he seeks lies in removing the cause for that fear? If there were enough good jobs for everyone, White and Black, would the Europeans wish or try to retain a colour bar? No one can validly maintain that there need be any lack of such jobs anywhere in Southern Africa, if the obstacles in the way of our developing our natural resources were removed.

F. A. W. LUCAS.

*Africans and British Rule* by Margery Perham. Oxford University Press; 1941; pp. 98; 1s. 6d.

This book was written for Africans by the lecturer in Colonial Administration at Oxford, an Englishwoman who has travelled much and discussed the problems of Government with Africans in all parts of the continent south of the Sahara. In writing it the author has kept in mind all the time the people she has met, their arguments,



their attitude towards the Europeans, their views on different subjects. She has tried to win the sympathy of her readers by showing that not all white people think alike on the subject of Africa's future, that a considerable body of colonial administrators, students and others are genuinely interested in African welfare, that many of the disabilities which Africans suffer, like unequal distribution of wealth and educational opportunities, are shared, at least in some degree, by poor White people in Britain, and that history shows that the British peoples themselves passed through a period of tribal backwardness and were conquered and organised by a superior civilisation.

No attempt has been made to disguise the selfish characteristics of imperialism, but it is pointed out that the motives of the colonisers were at least in part humanitarian, some parts of Africa having been taken over by the British Government in order to suppress the slave trade, and others to facilitate the work of Christian missions. British rule has brought orderly government, without which civilisation cannot advance. "Subjection was the only way by which, on account of her backwardness, and the nature of Europe's nineteenth-century system, Africa could have been brought into the civilised world." Africans are asked to accept this position and not to harp on ancient wrongs.

There is a lot of interesting material in this small book—contrasts between the West African and the South African systems, arguments for and against (mostly for) "indirect rule," a discussion of the prime importance of education. The writer does not refrain from advocating "orderly resistance to draw attention to wrongs or mistakes, as the West African cocoa farmers did in 1937. It is to be hoped for example that the proposed legislation permitting Native trade unions in Africa will allow workers to organise themselves to protect their interests and, when necessary, to refuse their labour in order to improve their conditions." It is stated however that such organisation must be based on united and orderly action if it is to succeed. There is a reference to the disorderly beginnings of British trade unions and a comparison with the I.C.U. in

South Africa, which "broke down" "because of tribal divisions and quarrels and dishonesty among the leaders." One feels that the author does not sufficiently appreciate the difficulty of maintaining orderly behaviour in the face of organised violence and disruption by the other side. Certainly the I.C.U. collapsed as much from forces operating from without as from within.

Just a word about the language used in this book. The text "has been adapted to a standard vocabulary of 2,000 of the most frequently used words in the English language." Simple definitions of other words included in the text and not explained there are given in a glossary. It is encouraging to know that systematic vocabulary limitation is becoming an accepted principle in writing books for Africa. While it is true that the average educated Englishman reading this book would declare that it was delightfully simply and easily written, I doubt whether it would make easy reading for the average African who has not passed Standard VIII. Language simplification must go much further if books intended for Africans are to be read by more than a select minority.

EDWARD ROUX.

*The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.* By E. E. Evans-Pritchard. London: Lund, Humphries, 1940; 164 pp. with illustrations. Paper bound. 7s. 6d.

At the request of the Sudan Government Dr. Evans-Pritchard spent three months in Anuakland in 1935 and he publishes the results of his survey in this monograph. The Anuak live in an area so inaccessible and unattractive that it is not surprising that they had hitherto received scanty attention from field anthropologists. The eastern part of the country is savannah forest, the western part is periodically under flood and is marshy even in dry seasons. It was only in 1921 that the government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan assumed responsibility for the South-Eastern Anuak and imposed on the warring villages some form of centralised administrative control.

In relation to other Nilotic tribes, Dr. Evans-Pritchard classifies the Anuak as linguistically akin to the Acholi of the South and politically similar to the Shilluk of the North. Historical connections and foreign influences are treated as essentials in the understanding of political organisation at each period of Anuak development.

Climate, country and a crude agricultural economy induce the Anuak to live in widely scattered villages. Each village is economically independent, politically autonomous and frequently at war with neighbouring villages and tribes. Political autonomy of a village is maintained even though social contacts extend to other villages, the culture of all Anuak is relatively homogeneous, and kinship is not contained within village frontiers. Yet the effectiveness of other social ties tends to pend on membership of the village community.

The Anuak therefore fall into the type of political system that Dr. Evans-Pritchard has elsewhere described as "stateless societies"—societies with no centralised government and little regional administrative machinery. Yet the Anuak system is more than the periodic hostility of a number of isolated villages; the Anuak form a whole linked by political sentiment as well as by a common culture. This sentiment is differently expressed: in the west each village is under a headman; in the east each is under a noble. The two systems overlap, and for various reasons the nobles are gaining ground. Headmanship is hereditary but each incumbent holds his position only as long as he has the support of his village and once this is lost he is ostracised. The headman has little executive authority; he stands however as "the highest common value of the village community" representing its unity and exclusiveness (p. 134). He belongs to one village only, hence villages do not come into conflict over a common value. The system under the nobles has certain similarities and certain important differences. The nobles all belong to the same clan, but at any period of time they recognise as *primus inter pares* the noble in possession of certain emblems. These symbolise Anuak "kingship." The emblems belong to all

the nobles and the distribution of the nobles in the villages gives to each a claim to kingship. The emblems circulate but are indivisible; there cannot be more than one king at the same time. There is a kingship with no central government, a king with no administrative control over nobles. "The political system was an equilibrium between a series of small autonomous local units which recognised a common value, the emblems." The equilibrium changed with time through a change in the distribution of armed force. The introduction of firearms from Ethiopia gave to some nobles despotic power over a few villages; later the British government insisted on the observance of peace and was eventually able to enforce it. Dr. Evans-Pritchard has very skilfully reconstructed the changing balance of power over the last century of Anuak history.

The book is an important addition to anthropology. It is true that there are many points on which the material is sadly incomplete, as the author himself indicates, yet it is sufficient to enable us to classify the Anuak ethnographically and it gives a clear understanding of the dynamics in the relations of noble and commoner in a "stateless society." The book is, moreover, a step forward in anthropological discipline; it shows what an experienced anthropologist can achieve in a short time through a knowledge of neighbouring tribes, and a delimiting of the field beforehand enabling him to concentrate on relevant facts. Dr. Evans-Pritchard has shown how indispensable theory is in co-ordinating and interpreting ethnographical data in such a way as to bring out the principles of a political structure in a society that appears on the surface chaotic and contradictory.

H.K.

*Amaghawe Onlando, Book II*, by E. H. A. Made, Shuter and Shooter, 219 pp. 1942.

This second volume of *Heroes of History* is a valuable continuation of Made's 1940 publication. It deals in the main with great English or American names—Caxton, Drake, Bunyan, Cook, Washington, Stephenson, Florence Nightingale,

Lawrence, Lincoln, Livingstone, Scott—with Columbus, St. Teresa and Napoleon. The tales are well told and the Zulu style pleasing, rich in idiom and characteristic word-building. This is a real addition to the growing Zulu literature.

C.M.D.

*Indlela Yempilo* (The Way of Health), by L. E. Hertslet, Shuter and Shooter, 98 pp. 1942.

This is an interesting and informative little book designed to help teachers, children and parents towards better health conditions. It is written in a simple yet racy style in Zulu, the translation from English being the work of P. Z. Radebe. It contains some arresting illustrations prepared by R. E. Hughes.

C.M.D.

*Bird Lore of the Eastern Cape Province.* By the Revd. Robert Godfrey. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 1941. 2s. 6d.

In the pages of this book there is condensed : bird life, bird love and bird lore.

For many years Padré Godfrey has studied the ways and habits of birds. His book takes us to pleasant places. As we lie on the grass on the outskirts of a forest, we hear the "tap, tap, tap" of a woodpecker or the insistent "ting, ting, ting" of the anvil bird. On the forked branches of the stately yellow-wood tree that gives us shade, we see the hut-like nest of *Tekwana*. Drooping over a pool of the river below are the pear-shaped nests of a colony of finks. Here the wife holds sway. If the weaving work of the husband does not meet with her approval, the home that he has contrived is torn to shreds and he has to begin all over again, once more fetching long strands of grass. "How shall I lace it my love," says he in a submissive voice. "Get on with your job," says she, "you know more about it than I do." "But why did you pull down our house that I had built so carefully?" "Don't argue," says the wife, "don't you know that I am about to produce to you a lusty family." "Oh that!" says the fink-pecked husband, "I had forgotten." So he goes on with his work until the home is woven to the wife's satisfaction and there they

"live happily ever afterward." The husband has meantime plucked every leaf and twig off the slender branch on which the nest hangs. This is to make it more difficult for snakes, mice and other burglars to gain access to the home.

If I am found to be digressing from my review of a book, I can only blame the author who has produced a delightful thing, and a valuable addition to our knowledge of bird life in its relation to South African folk lore.

Padré Godfrey with his knowledge introduces us to the ways and works of *impundulu*, the lightning bird, to *Tekwana*, the wizard, and to many others of the bird folk.

I quote the following from a record of the life of Saint Francis of Assisi: "The twitter of birds upon the trees. . . . refreshed and uplifted his heart . . . . where the birds gathered he paused, and, unalarmed, they clustered about his feet and on the branches overhead. In an ecstasy of tenderness for his 'little brothers,' he spoke to them of their Creator. . . . He has given you the pure air for a home: you need neither to sow nor to reap for He cares for you . . . and the birds rejoiced at his words, opening their wings and fluttering and chirping as if to thank him for rating them so precious in God's sight. Then moving amongst them he blessed them and went on his way."

It may have been so with Padré Godfrey.

FRANK BROWNLEE.

*The Narrative of Private Buck Adams, 7th (Princess Royal's) Dragoon Guards, on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, 1843-1848.* Edited by A. Gordon-Brown. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society; 1941; xx, pp. 316, with plates, map and index.

I have found this a wholly delightful book, the manner of its presentation by the editor contributing in no small measure to my enjoyment of it.

Private "Buck" Adams, he tells us in his introduction, was the son of a London turner who had followed the trade of his father. But at the age of seventeen, owing to depression in that occupation, he left his father's workshop to seek



some other employment. Stopping to assist the victim of a street accident, he found himself face to face with a recruiting sergeant and, "without one moment's hesitation," took the King's shilling.

Adams' description of his enlistment and of his subsequent experiences in the army prior to his sailing for the Cape reads like a chapter out of one of Captain Marryat's tales, and his account of the voyage also conjures up memories of the famous nautical novelist.

Now, it is just as well to emphasise at this point that, although Adams penned his manuscript "forty years after the events it describes," it is obvious, according to his editor, that the narrative was based upon notes originally taken in diary form. It is needless for me to stress the value of first-hand historical material of this nature, which is always of interest to the serious student. But it is desirable for me to emphasise the fact that a military narrative such as this one, written, not by someone in command, but by a mere ranker, gives us a view of the events described from an entirely new angle.

Not that Buck Adams was a "mere" ranker. On the contrary, he seems to have acquired an education all his own, and in his own way, at a time when most "private soldiers" were little more than outcasts from the community, which rewarded them for their patriotism by exhibiting at places of entertainment, as Adams tells us, placards reading: "No Soldiers, Servants in Livery or Dogs admitted."

Readers of *African Studies* will, of course, be particularly interested in Adams' descriptions of Native life in South Africa, and in his reactions to those Natives whom he met in the course of his wanderings.

Buck first came into contact with them when the transport that had brought him from Simon's Bay to Algoa Bay landed him at the latter port, where he saw the "Kaffirs," as naked as on the day they were born, carrying the invalids, women and children through the surf to the shore.

But before long he and his companions were ordered up-country, and from this time onwards Adams' narrative is full of interesting and amusing

references to "Kaffir" life, and to that of the Hottentots with whom he was associated.

Passing through Graham's Town and Fort Brown, Adams eventually reached Fort Beaufort, scene of many a "Kaffir fair." His uniform up to this time consisted of the clothes in which he had enlisted, except for a pair of regimental trousers. In the over-crowded barracks ophthalmia was rampant, and Adams caught the infection with the rest. He boldly opposes his reasons for the outbreak to those of the medical officers, and challenges his readers to judge between them. This is characteristic of the man. Throughout his book he displays a spirit of independence that must have been rare in those days, and which earned for him in the army the reputation of being a "lawyer."

At Fort Beaufort Adams witnessed the arrival of the chief Macomo in July, 1844, and gives us a vivid account of the event. The chief, accompanied by a considerable retinue, which included many wives, warriors, rain and thunder doctors and witch finders, had come on one of his periodical visits to collect a sum of money granted him by Government. Adams tells us how he first purchased a new red nightcap in which to receive the money. Then, having got his allowance, he and his party went straight to a wine shed and bought twenty bottles of cheap wine and six of Cape "smoke," the latter being reserved for the chief and his wives. It is a sad picture that Adams paints of this scene, but it is relieved to some extent by his description of Macomo's natural nobility (when not in his cups) on a later occasion. Other chiefs of which Adams gives us vivid little pen portraits are Pato, Botman, Stock and Umkai.

Of the "Kaffirs" themselves we catch glimpses of a kind that we generally miss in the more formal reports of military leaders and the like. We read of Adams shaving a Native by way of a practical joke, and ruining his own razor in the process. We hear of how the Natives brought captured monkeys to sell to the soldiers, and of how they searched for the brass uniform buttons dropped about the Fort by the troops. More interesting still, we read of Captain O'Reilly and

Ensign Gordon Cumming (that notorious animal killer) challenging the Natives to a trial of skill in hurling the assegai, and beating them at their own game. The assegai and its use is also carefully described.

The monotony of life in Fort Beaufort was relieved, we are told, by an occasional "sing-song" organised by the officers, and by a still more occasional dramatic performance in the so-called "Theatre Royal" of that lonely outpost. Adams, who was an excellent singer, a facile versifier and a good comedian, was constantly called upon to assist at these performances, and he gives us specimens of his productions. One such is a rather scurrilous poem in which Macomo, the chief, orders in doggerel a consignment of liquor from an Edinburgh wine merchant. Adams also describes how he himself played the part of Mungo, the Black servant, in Charles Dibdin's comic opera "The Padlock." As it is extremely unlikely that Adams had seen many Black men before reaching South Africa, one may conjecture that he modelled his style on the local Natives, to the great enjoyment of the spectators.

And while discussing theatrical entertainments it is worth while drawing attention to Adams' mention of the deserter Smith, "better known as Long Tom Coffin." Adams could scarcely have painted a better picture of this adventurer, for everyone who is interested in the theatre of that day, and particularly of the "transpontine" variety (to use the name coined for it by Gilbert), is familiar with the famous portrait of the actor T. P. Cooke as "Long Tom Coffin" in the play "The Pilot." Doubtless it was his general

resemblance to this character that had earned Smith his nickname.

All these pictures are, as I have said, vividly painted by the author. But almost more engaging than any of them are his vignettes of life on the Dutch farms of the day. On one of these Adams had a sentimental experience, not without its pathetic side, which he describes in the manner of a born novelist. In it he tells us with great charm of the generosity and kindly hospitality of his Boer hosts. The young soldier (he was still in his 'teens) seems to have had the knack of adapting himself to whatever company he happened to be in, and his pleasant personality made him very attractive to the daughters of the veld. But it is not for me to enlarge on this here; you must read the tale for yourselves.

Buck Adams' Narrative is enhanced by a large number of cunningly chosen illustrations, culled from all manner of sources, the frontispiece, which is unusually attractive, being in colour. They succeed, as the editor intended that they should, in intensifying the atmosphere created by the text. And the map which is folded into the end of the book gives us the position of every place we want to know about in our study of the history of the "War of the Axe." An excellent bibliography, notes and index complete the whole. Mr. A. Gordon-Brown, the editor and owner of the original manuscript, which he himself ran to earth, deserves the highest praise for his labour of love, and the Van Riebeeck Society our congratulations for sponsoring the work, which is a notable addition to Africana.

PERCIVAL R. KIRBY.



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